The Jews and Prostitution in Constantinople, 1854-1922

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The Jews and Prostitution in Constantinople, 1854-1922

Rifat N. Bali

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ABBREVIATIONS

H.E. : His Excellency
H.M. : Her Majesty
METU : Middle East Technical University
NARA : National Archives and Records Administration
YMCA : Young Men's Christian Association

INTRODUCTION

When the phrase "prostitution in Turkey" is mentioned, the first place that comes to mind is the city of Istanbul (or, perhaps, its previous incarnation Constantinople) and in particular, its well-known 'European' districts of Beyoğlu and Galata. The brothels that were active in the aforementioned districts were restricted to specific streets within each of these districts until the 1960s. As a result, the names "Abanoz street" (in Beyoğlu) and "Zürafa street" (in Galata) are immediately called to mind when speaking about this phenomenon. In addition to the locales, two names in particular come to mind, Şaziye Topçu, also known as "Lüks Nermin", the owner of Istanbul's most famous bordello of the 1950s, and Matild Manukyan,[1] the well-known madame and (for a time) the person who led all others in taxes paid. These names were so familiar to the average Turk that they have actually found a place in the country's popular culture[2] and parlance. "Lüks Nermin" was even mentioned by name by then-Indonesian President Ahmet Sukarno (1901-1970) when, during his 1959 visit to Turkey, he expressed his desire for a girl with whom to spend the night. In response, Topçu sent Sukarno one of her girls from his brothel. After the president's return to Indonesia Nermin was arrested when it came out that Sukarno had contracted gonorrhea from the woman. As for Matild Manukyan, in a country famous for its tax evaders, she became famous in Turkey as much for her punctiliousness in paying her record tax debts than as the leading madame.

Existing Sources

Despite the fact that Turkish popular culture has immortalized the districts, streets and even specific brothels, and that Hülya Avşar, perhaps Turkey's most famous celebrity and actress, has been asked to star in a film about the life of Matild Manukyan,[3] there does not presently exist any published research whatsoever on either the brothel owners or other famous

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[1] *For a short biography of her see:* Matild Manukyan (1914-2001) see: http://www.biyografi.net/kisiyazdir.asp?khersiid=1209

[2] In the Ekşi Dictionary, (http://sozluk.sourtimes.org) which is very popular with university students, there are 25 entries on Matild Manukyan, and four on Lüks Nermin.

[3] Mehmet Çalışkan, "O da ben de herkesin yapamadığını yaptık", *Sabah*, November 24, 2005.

personalities connected to this profession. This situation would seem to indicate the following truth: the history of prostitution has remained one of the subjects that researchers in the area of social history have found of little interest. A glance at the recent academic and popular studies that have been written would show that, in general, if there is any interest in the subject of prostitution, it is for the phenomenon in our day.[1] One of the likely reasons for this is the paucity of primary sources with which to work.

When perusing the existing publications that have treated the world of prostitution in Turkey (and these primarily deal with Constantinople), the first thing one notices is just how few such works there are. One of the studies in this field that is frequently cited is a 1987 article by Bosphorus University Professor Zafer Toprak.[2] The article itself was to a great extent based on an article dealing with the world of prostitution found in the book *Constantinople Today or The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople* (edited by Clarence Richard Johnson), which provided a 'topography' of social conditions in Istanbul in the 1920s. Zafer Toprak also published two encyclopedia articles on the subject that were based on his original research, although both of these pieces suffered from the liability of being reformatted in order to conform to the respective encyclopedias' formats and requirements.[3] In his book on 19th century Beyoğlu, Mimar Sinan University Professor Mustafa Cezar devoted one chapter of the book to the subject of prostitution. In the chapter section titled "The Less Attractive Sides of Beyoğlu" (*Beyoğlu'nun Simasının Sevimsiz Tarafları*) Cezar groups these "less attractive sides" into two categories: (a) those deriving from the hegemony of foreigners in Beyoğlu (or, by its former name, 'La Grande Rue de Pera') or the adulation and admiration felt toward these foreigners; and (b) the phenomenon of prostitution.[4] When discussing prostitution, the author seems to largely rely on the aforementioned 1987 Zafer Toprak article.[5]

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[1] Nilay Oğultürk, *Psiko-sosyal Özellikleriyle Genelev Kadınları*, University of Hacettepe, Institute of Social Sciences, 1991, unpublished MA thesis; Gamze Ege, *Foreign Domestic Workers in Turkey: A New Form of Trafficking in Women*, METU, Institute of Social Sciences, 2002, unpublished MA thesis. Doğan Katırcıoğlu, *Ayıp Sokağı'nda Aşk*, (Istanbul: Market Press), 2002; Mehmet Nurullah Kurutkan, *Hayat Kadınlarının Psiko-sosyal Açıdan Rehabilitasyonu*, University of Sakarya, Institute of Social Sciences, 2003, unpublished MA thesis; H. Deniz Yükseker, *Laleli-Moskova Mekiği Kayıtdışı Ticaret ve Cinsiyet İlişkileri*, (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları), 2003; Ahmet Sümbül, *Güneydoğu'da Fuhuş*, Elma Yayınları, 2004; Füsun Yıldırım, *Fahişeliğin Öbür Yüzü: Onbeş Kadının Tanıklığı*, (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları), 2004.

[2] Zafer Toprak, "İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Zührevi Hastalıklar 1914-1933", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Volume 7, no. 39, March 1987, pp. 31-40.

[3] Zafer Toprak, "Fuhuş-Osmanlı Dönemi", Volume 3, pp. 342-345 in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), 1993-1995 and Zafer Toprak, "Genelevler", Volume 3, pp. 392-393 in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), 1993-1995.

[4] Mustafa Cezar, *XIX. Yüzyıl Beyoğlusu*, (Istanbul: Ak Yayınları), 1991, p. 430.

[5] Mustafa Cezar, *op.cit.* p. 445.

Other sources frequently cited on this subject include Murat Bardakçı's *Osmanlı'da Seks* ("Sex Among the Ottomans") (1995), Refik Ahmet Sevengil's *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu* ("How [Old] Istanbul Used to Enjoy Itself") (1985), Giovanni Scognamillo's *Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş* ("Prostitution in Beyoğlu") (1994) and Ahmet Refik's famous *Dünkü İstanbul'da Hovardalık Fuhş-i Atik* (Traditional [Forms of] Debauchery and Prostitution in Old Istanbul") (1st printing 1340/1922). While the serious researcher will find scattered bits of information in these four works, there is precious little information on how this netherworld of the sex trade functioned.

Non-Muslims and Prostitution

Until the first years of the Turkish Republic, there were a considerable number of non-Muslims—Greeks, Armenians and Jews—active in all aspects of Istanbul's sex trade, whether as brothel owners, procurers or prostitutes. The most recent and, as previously mentioned, best known representative of this tradition in the Istanbul Armenian madame Matild Manukyan. In regard to the disproportionate minority representation in this trade, the few existing sources all agree, and this reality has also been reflected in a number of Turkish novels dealing with Beyoğlu. According to a study of Turkish novels set in Beyoğlu, of the 34 non-Muslim protagonists found in these novels, thirteen were brothel owners, while another three were prostitutes.[1] Nevertheless, one fact that seems to have escaped all researchers and historians is that those controlling the 'white slavery' business in Istanbul in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were foreign Jews living in Istanbul. This phenomenon will be the subject of this study.

The first person to draw my attention to the significant place of Jews in Constantinople's sex trade was Professor Heath Lowry. One summer day several years back I met Professor Lowry for the first time at Simurg Bookstore, one of Istanbul's meeting points for scholars, researchers and book lovers. During the course of our conversation he made mention of Edward J. Bristow's *Prostitution and Prejudice The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery 1870-1939* and the author's claim that Constantinople was one of the principal centers of the white slave trade during that period. My interest piqued, I secured the work and began my research on the topic. I published my first article on the subject (in Turkish) in 2003.[2]

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[1] Ali Şükrü Çoruk, *Cumhuriyet Devri Türk Romanında Beyoğlu*, (İstanbul: Kitabevi), 1995, pp. 307-311.

[2] Rıfat N. Bali, "1900'lü Yıllarda İstanbul'da Yahudi Fuhuş Tacirleri", *Tarih ve Toplum*, July 2003, no. 235, pp. 9-19.

This present book consists of four sections: the first one represents a reworked and expanded version of the aforementioned Turkish article; the second section is a reproduction of the complete text of a report published by an "S. Cohen, Secretary of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women" in the wake of his 1914 visit to Constantinople; the third part is comprised of a section on prostitution from of an article by Charles Trowbridge Riggs titled "Adult delinquency" from Clarence Richard Johnson's edited work *Constantinople Today or the Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople A Study in Oriental Society*; finally, the fourth section consists of a pamphlet by M. Albert Ettiges concerning a white slaver by the name of Michael Salomonovich (alias "Michael Pasha") that I was led to as a result of a footnote citation in the book by Bristow. In his footnote Bristow mentions the author of the pamphlet but was unable to determine its location. A copy of the pamphlet, which I tracked down to the Austrian National Library, is reproduced at the end of the book. In remaining faithful to the original text no clarifying corrections or alterations have been made.

I would like to thank my friend and colleague Paul Bessemer for translating the book's introduction, its first section, "The Place of the Jews in the Prostitution Market Place of Constantinople" from the original Turkish and the article by Alphons Sussinski from German into English, Susan Strange for scanning the photos of the white slave traders from the National Archives at College Park, Maryland and Carren Kaston for introducing me to Susan Strange.

THE PLACE OF THE JEWS IN THE PROSTITUTION MARKET OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Constantinople as a Center of White Slave Trade

A common assessment of nearly all of the studies of the sex trade in Constantinople in the 19th and 20th centuries is that non-Muslims held a prominent place in this profession,[1] but none of them fully emphasized or focused on the full role of the Jews. Nevertheless, between the years 1880 and 1939 the Jews played a disproportionately large role both in the white slave trade and in its geographic breadth.[2] The territories and countries of Galicia, Austria, Poland and Rumania were not only significant places of Jewish settlement, but also areas in which the commerce in women was most widespread.[3] The white slavers who were active in Vienna would find women in Bohemia, Galicia and Hungary and send them to Constantinople via circuitous routes in order not to arouse suspicions as to their true purpose. Some of those girls arriving in Constantinople would then be sent on to Cairo, others to Trabzon.[4] The city of Salonica, of whose population the Jews were a majority, was also a city notable for its widespread sex trade and in which the Jews dominated the market. Professor Mark Mazower describes the sex trade in Salonica thus:

> An unusual threat, no doubt, and one which testified not only to the authorities' repressive instincts where women were concerned, but also to the important place occupied by prostitution in the interwar economy of the city: there were no less than 48 licensed establishments in 1928 and

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[1] Zafer Toprak, "İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Zührevi Hastalıklar 1914-1933", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Volume 7, No. 39, March 1987, pp. 31-40 / Zafer Toprak, "Fuhuş-Osmanlı Dönemi", Volume 3, pp. 342-345 in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), 1993-1995. / Zafer Toprak, "Genelevler", Volume 3, pp. 392-393 in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), 1993-1995. / Charles Trowbridge Riggs, "Adult Delinquency", pp. 323-368 in Clarence Richard Johnson, (ed) *Constantinople Today or The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople A Study in Oriental Social Life*, (New York: The Macmillan Company), 1922. Giovanni Scognamillo, *Beyoğlu'nda Fuhuş*, (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar), 1994 /Ahmet Rasim, *Dünkü İstanbul'da Hovardalık Fuhş-i Atik*, (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları), 1992. (First printing according to Muslim calendar 1340 / according to georgian calendar 1922).

[2] Edward J. Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery 1870-1939*, (New York: Schoken Books), 1983, p.1.

[3] Edward J. Bristow, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

[4] *The White Slave Trade, Transactions of the International Congress on the White Slave Trade, Held in London on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd of June, 1899, At the Invitation of the National Vigilance Association*, London, Office of the National Vigilance Association, 267, Strand, W.C., 1899, p. 83.

> street-walkers outnumbered civil servants. The traffic in sexual pleasures had existed in the city since Ottoman times, when more than one visitor had been invited by an apparently respectable Jewsh youth to visit his 'sister'. With the Russian revolution and the Asia Minor catastrophe came a new supply of impoverished White Russian aristocrats and abandoned Greek refugees. Some [male] writers might talk glibly about the 'charm' and the 'traditional erotic sensibility of the East' that the newcomers brought with them, but what spurred on many of these 'unprotected and orphaned girls' was economic need or vulnerability. [1]

David Ben-Gurion, who would later become Israel's first prime minister, studied law in Salonica for a year before moving on to Constantinople, where he joined fellow Yishuv leaders Yitzchak Ben-Zvi and Israel Shochat. During that period his Ashkenazi origins caused him to feel quite a bit of isolation, as the city's Jewish population, large as it was, was overwhelmingly Sephardic, and this community thought very little of their northern co-religionists. As Ben-Gurion's biographer Shabtai Teveth explains:

> His isolation was made worse by his feeling of strangeness as the only Ashkenazi Jew in town. Some of his neighbors turned on their heels when they saw him; others stared openly. Only at the end of his stay there did he find out that among Salonika's Jews it was common knowledge that all Ashkenazim earned their living as pimps or white slavers.[2]

As both an important transit point and port of disembarkation for immigrants, travelers and refugees heading both east and west, Constantinople was one of the leading centers for the international trade in women during this period, and members of the Jewish community played a central role in it. Although foreign-born Ashkenazi Jews featured prominently, there was also some collaboration with other local Jews. Eastern European Jews engaged in the sex trade in their home countries would by this means expand their field of activity by bringing it to the countries to which they immigrated. It was as a result of this phenomenon of late 19th century immigration that both

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[1] Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts Christians Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*, (London: Harper Collins) 2004, p. 390.

[2] Shabtai Teveth, *Ben-Gurion The Burning Ground 1886-1948*, (Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin) 1987, p. 78. Both Teveth's claim that Ben-Gurion only found this out at the end of his stay, and that this was 'common knowledge' are slight exaggerations. Instead of claiming that all Ashkenazis in Salonica were white slavers, it would be more correct to report that—at least as far as the Sephardic population was concerned—all white slavers were Ashkenazi Jews. As Ben-Gurion writes of his living arrangements in that city: "I lived with a Sephardic Jewish family, but I didn't know a word of Spanish, and the lady of the house, who was no spring chicken, treated me like I was her son, and would sit next to me every chance she got and speak to me, never understanding that I didn't understand her language. Some of my colleagues warned me not to tell her that I was Ashkenazi, because in Salonica the word Ashkenazi was synonymous with 'white slaver' (*soher nashim*), because all of the white slavers in Salonica were Ashkenazis." David Ben-Gurion, *Zichronot*, (Tel Aviv: Am Oved), 1971, p. 55. I would like to thank Paul Bessemer for bringing the passage from Ben-Gurion's memoirs to my attention and for translating it from Hebrew.

Argentina's capital Buenos Aires and the Ottoman capital Constantinople would become two of the leading centers for white slaving at this time. As a major port city located at the only outlet of the Black Sea, Constantinople received an enormous amount of ship traffic to and from the ports of Southern Russia (and Odessa, in particular), Romania and Bulgaria. Around the turn of the century it has been estimated that some 15,000 passenger steamships and another 10,000 freight vessels would pass through the Bosphorus Straits. In addition to acting as a commercial 'bridge' between Europe and the Near East, Constantinople was at the same time a highly cosmopolitan metropolis which was both a desireable tourist destination and place of employment for countless foreigners. Since very few of these foreigners could speak Turkish, the city also provided employment for a great many locals acting as guides, interpreters, and even porters. Whether at the quays of Galata and Kadıköy or the train stations of Sirkeci and Haydarpaşa, a similar scene would invariably transpire, as seemingly every inhabitant of the city who could speak a foreign language (and no doubt, many who could not), had lodging to offer would immediately accost the newcomers and offer their services as the latter first disembarked. In addition to the aforementioned services, unaccompanied men would also be offered other, more discrete services by such persons, as many of them would receive a commission from the brothel owners for each customer brought in. As a result, a significant role in the expansion of the sex trade in Constantinople must be attributed to both the multitude of foreigners and the local 'middlemen' who offered them their services—and those of others. It is also clear that one of the main reasons for the concentration of the city's brothels in the Galata district is its proximity to the port.[1] One of these guides who would introduce the foreign visitors to Constantinople's sex trade was the Greek youth Basileos Zacharias (1849-1936), an arms merchant who would later change his name to Basil Zaharoff):

> Little Basil's first job was as a guide for the tourists to the Galata or prostitution district of Constantinople, helping his clients to find the forbidden pleasures that went beyond the bounds of normal prostitution.[2]

Two of the city's most expert procurers were the European Jews Josef Germanoff and Nathan Ishar, both of Romanian extraction. Both of these dubious individuals would dress to the nines and ostentatiously carry two gold watches in their waistcoats with which to impress the young women whose acquaintance they would make. They would go down to the Galata port to

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[1] S. Cohen, *Report of An Enquiry Made In Constantinople On Behalf of The Jewish Association For The Protection of Girls and Women*, London, 1914, p. 4.

[2] "Basil Zaharoff", http://www.answers.com/topic/basil-zaharoff

circulate among the passengers of the steamers traveling from Odessa to Cairo. Here they would pick out young women from among the passengers, flatter them and persuade them to abandon the last leg of their journeys and to remain in Constantinople. Once achieved, they would be induced or forced into the world of prostitution as 'fresh meat'.[1] In addition to acting as a center of prostitution in its own right, Constantinople also served the white slavers as a sort of 'depot' at which many of the young girls would be held until they could be sent to other important centers of the sex trade in the East, such as Alexandria and Cairo, Port Said, Bombay, Singapore and Saigon.[2] Although there were several major efforts to stop or at least hinder the trade in women—especially young Jewish women—over the years, the extensive international network and few or no governmental prohibitions on the white slavers activities doomed these efforts to failure. Samuel Cohen, the General Secretary for the London-based Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women, visited Constantinople for this purpose in 1914 and gave the following report:

> A German lady, Fraulein Hirschberg, belonging to one of the Missions, was appointed by a small Council presided over by Madame Ponafidine, but the money for paying her salary has been difficult to find, and she has worked on, out of a sense of duty both to the Mission and to the protection of girls, with practically no stipend. But her work is almost futile. She acknowledges that herself. A large number of the girls who really need protection are Jewesses who come from Russia, Roumania or Galicia, and if she attempts to induce any girls to leave the company of an undesirable companion, or to go with her for better protection, those who are interested in the traffic (i.e., the guides and the others), at once warn the girls that Fraulein Hirschberg is a missionary, and that she intends to convert them. Fraulein Hirschberg, too, does not speak Yiddish, and is quite helpless when these warnings are given to the girls in that language, while a large number of the guides are Jews, and the traffickers with whom they are in touch have little or no difficulty in approaching the passengers.[3]

Another observer was Alphons Sussnitski, who made the following observation in 1912:[4]

> The development of Constantinople into a modern city and, more specifically, the accompanying increase in foreign traffic, with its debauched (*ausschweifenden*) nightlife and its luxurious (*schweigerischen*)

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[1] Edward J. Bristow, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.

[2] *ibid.* p. 182.

[3] S. Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5. For a study of British Jewry's role in combatting the white slave trade see: Lloyd P. Gartner, "Anglo-Jewry and the Jewish International Traffic in Prostitution, 1885-1914", *AJS Review*, Vol. 7, (1982), pp. 129-178.

[4] Alphons Sussnitski, "Die wirtschaftliche Lage der Juden in Konstantinopel", *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 76. Jahrgang, Nr. 3 (Berlin, 19. January, 1912), pp. 28-30.

> sensual pleasures, were yet another category on which the Ashkenazi Jews in the Turkish capital 'had a lock': traffic in women (*Mädchenhändler*). And these, too, organized themselves into their own separate community. I counted 92 members in their synagogue whose president is a long-time member of the guild.
>
> We will not, of course, fully discuss this "occupation" here. It is a sorry occurrence and a shameful thing for Jewry. Even to mention it in such a connection would be an insult to every respectable trade....

While Jews did play an important role in the international sex trade in the 19th century, in most places, such as the two major prostitution capitals of Buenos Aires and Constantinople, there was nothing close to resembling a 'Jewish monopoly' on prostitution. In Buenos Aires, for instance, the initial agents were French, and later, Italians, while in Constantinople Greeks and Armenians were also active in the 'market' along side the Jewish procurers and brothel owners.[1] In Argentina, one of the principal reasons for the expansion of the sex trade was the imbalance in the male-to-female ratio. Having received a large number of unmarried males coming to seek their fortune during the great European outmigration of 1880-1910, the 'need' for female companionship was soon filled by enterprising businessmen, and particularly by the members of the Jewish criminal underworld of Eastern Europe. The arrival and establishment of this 'Jewish mafia' in Argentina provoked a strong reaction from the local Jewish community, as well as prompting the aforementioned Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women to set up a branch of their organization in Buenos Aires during the 1890s in order to try to combat this development.[2]

Reports Published in *HaMagid* Newspaper

A certain Dr. Getzel Selikovitsch's reports on his visits to Alexandria, Constantinople, Varna and Salonica are acute observations of the white slave trade in these cities. These reports were published in 1885 in the newspaper *HaMagid* which was the first Hebrew weekly newspaper which began its publication in 1856 in Lyck, East Prussia which is today the city of Elk, Poland, 60 miles northwest of Bialystok.[3]

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[1] Edward J.Bristow, *op.cit.*, p. 181.

[2] Haim Avni, "Argentina", *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* Volume 3, pp. 413-418, 415. For a study of the role of the Jews in the prostitution market of Argentina the following studies are available: Isabel Vincent, *Bodies and Souls The Tragic Plight of Three Jewish Women Forced Into Prostitution in the Americas*, (New York: William Morrow) 2005 and Samy Katz, "La transmission impure: Les prostitués juives à Rio de Janeiro", pp. 569-584, in Esther Benbassa (ed.), *Transmission et Passages en Monde Juif,* (Paris: Publisud), 1997.

[3] Jeffrey A. Max, "*Nedavot:* Town Index to Donor Lists in *HaMagid,* 1856-1900", http://www.jewishgen.org/databases/misc/HaMagidIndex.htm

HaMagid, 23 July, 1885, No. 29, p. 250.

"Africa"

Alexandria, Egypt, 20 Tammuz. To the owner of *HaMagid*!

After having stayed in Cairo for ten days I moved my place of residence here to Alexandria and I will stay here for two weeks. I was certain that you longed to know about the situation of the Jews in Egypt, of which I had not yet informed you until now; to my regret, I cannot fulfill your wishes in this regard, nor that of your esteemed readership, for I haven't had the time to inquire into the condition of the glorious Sephardic Jewry of Egypt, despite the fact that their numbers are great. And regarding the situation of the Ashkenazi Jews who live in the Lands of Ham, do not ask, dear reader, for upon hearing your heart will be greatly troubled and maybe you won't even believe me, for even I did not believe when I constantly heard about the Ashkenazi Jews who live in the lands of the east. But it's all true and now my eyes have seen even more than my ears have heard: From among the 250 [families] that live in here in Alexandria, you won't find more than a dozen of them that are upright and decent, and the rest of the Ashkenazis all make their living from prostituting out their wives and daughters! There is no house of prostitution there in which is not heard the jargon that is spoken in Romania, Galicia, Austria and Russia. Don't think for a moment, dear reader that I am exaggerating their numbers: ask [other] travelers to Egypt and they will tell you; the Sephardic Jews will tell you. In truth, in Cairo [of the] 400 Ashkenazi men and women, one third of the families are upright. All of these 'holy' families give Israel a bad name, and the lowly work and earn their bread, day in, day out (and that of course includes the nights!) through prostitution and debased activities that are visible to all.

....

Dr. Getzel Selikovitsch

* * *

HaMagid, 26 November, 1885, No. 46, p. 403.

"Bulgaria"

Varna, 14 November, 1885.

I knew, dear reader, that after you have read these few lines you would say in your heart: It can't be true; maybe Ha-Shem has smitten Zelikawitz

with blinders whereby instead of seeing the roses he can only see the thorns everywhere he goes. Hardly does he arrive in Varna before he comes out against its Jewish inhabitants whom he doesn't know. And you are correct, reader! In Varna I didn't know a single one of our people, and over the entire 24 hours that I was forced to wait here for my ship, I sat alone in my hotel, 'Hotel de la Grande Russie'. Despite my mood, I saw here in one hour what my eyes had not beheld in Paris in ten whole years! Now I knew that the Jews of France were all complete saints: In Paris there are more than 4,000 brothels but there you won't find even one owner who is Jewish, while here in Varna, which is like a dirty back alley compared to Paris, there are two houses of 'ill repute' whose owners are Jews and Jewesses.

— So where did you learn about this, Zelikavitz, my friend? Isn't it true that if you enter unsavory houses like these immediately after you arrive in a new city, that you should know that such a thing is not appropriate for a writer from *HaMagid* ?

Please don't blame me, dear reader; Yesterday, after arriving in Varna from Rusçuk (Ruse) I was paid a visit by one of the heads of the Bulgarian military whom I had gotten to know as a faithful friend during the last few years in Paris. After discussing various other topics with him he mentioned to me this fact. After seeing that I was a little skeptical about what he'd said, he took me to one of the[se] places, (Hotel Plevna), and as he arrived I saw a plump Jewish woman about 50 years of age, with eyes closed, reciting the blessing over the candles, as it was the Holy Sabbath Eve, and among the 12 girls surrounding her and looking down, eight of them answered "Amen" with humility and modesty, because these Jews; four were from Galicia, three from Romania and one from Odessa. The rest of the girls were Greeks and Turks. Isn't that a shame and a disgrace for the people of Israel in the eastern lands?

Before signing this brief letter I would ask of you, dear reader not to wonder about th[is] *HaMagid* writer, perhaps I am still a wise student (*talmid haham*). Nevertheless, is it not enough for you that I vindicate myself by swearing to you upon my share in the world to come that from that place which I entered with my holiness and purity intact, I left it in like manner.

Dr. G. Zelikavitz

* * *

HaMagid, 11 February, 1886, No. 9, p. 48.

"Turkey: Letters from Stamboulians"

....

The Jews from Russia, Galicia, Romania and such, who speak jargon, are numerous in Constantinople, and among them are to be found a few upright and honorable families, and [this] young man will write of them...because that's the truth. And if I knew, dear reader, that you were not simply some "young man" at some gathering, and therefore I would have told you what the majority here do to earn their daily bread...These are the Ashkenazi Jews (?!?) who trade with the daughters of Israel as if with the passages "Thou hast witnessed" on the Holiday of *Shmini Ha'Atzeret* (the last day of Sukkot). These are the lowly scoundrels who earn their living by prostituting out their wives and daughters and sisters; these are the defiled 'holy ones', whose abominations sully the reputation of Israel among the lands of the east, and all who see them will shake their heads in disbelief, and thou, who were a holy nation (*goi qadosh*), how thou art become one who makes their bed with whores (*'am qadesh*)!

* * *

HaMagid, 13 May, 1886, No. 18, pp. 149.

"Greece"

....

On the eighth of this month I arrived in Salonica and discovered it to be a city of the Jews in all aspects. Upon speaking with various individuals there from the Jewish nation I understood that they love wisdom and draw lessons from various fields of knowledge. In this they distinguish themselves from our brethren in Constantinople, who almost to a man (with only a small number of exceptions) worship the 'golden calf' [of money]. The number of our Ashkenazi brethren (by which I mean natives of Russia & Poland, Galician and Romania) is small in Salonica, and we should be thankful that this number is small, because in most of the lands of the east in which they are distributed, they have taken an irrevocable vow to sully the name of Israel among the nations.... I am not of a mind to return here to the wickedness about which I spoke in my letter to *HaMagid* from Alexandria, Cairo, Athens and Constantinople, there's only one other thing that I saw in Constantinople that I found [appropriate] to mention again. There is an association there called "Yiddish Öster.[reichischer] Verein" (Jewish Austrian Society). The association could do a little good if it would take care to oversee its administration. One of its heads is a native of Galicia by the name of

Rathlein, and he makes loans with interest to the male and female prostitutes. And in this behavior toward these lowly individuals there is no stain upon him, but he also fleeces the small merchants who fall into their hands as a result of their poor [financial] situation. He also constantly keeps company with adulterers and adulteresses, both in eating and drinking. When I asked one of the members of the society why they chose a contemptible and corrupt person like this to lead the association whose purpose is to perform deeds of charity and mercy, he replied: 'What can we do if he is the one with money, and money washes away stains. It's true that he himself doesn't deal in fallen women, for his sister's son is a young man by the name of Yaakov, and this Yaakov is the secretary for the society, but again, what can we do? Who else will go and collect donations for us from the whores if not this young man who has no shame?' As I listened to his words I said to myself with great sadness and grief: 'Behold Israel, these are your chairmen and secretaries.'

On April 11 I arrived in Izmir (Smyrna) where I tarried for a few days. If a person desires to see the luxury in which the Jews live, he must come to the city's grand boulevard adjacent to the sea shore on a Sabbath. If he wishes to know their number there, he must count the shops that are closed on that day...

How Did the Foreign Jews in Constantinople Become Involved in the Sex Trade?

Aron Halévy, the local representative of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (hereafter AIU or 'Alliance') in Constantinople (who was also the leader of the local Ashkenazi community) submitted a report to the organization's Paris headquarters in 1890 dealing with the situation of the Polish Jews who had settled in the Ottoman capital. In his report he explained that the origins of large-scale prostitution in Constantinople lay in the period of the Crimean War, when a Russian prisoner who had been brought to and later settled in Constantinople was given a concession to open up a brothel:

> The first establishment of a certain importance of Polish Jews at Constantinople seems to date from the year 1854. It is to the epoch of the Crimean War that some Russian-Jewish soldier taken prisoner in the course of battle by the allied armies were transported to Constantinople where they received the order to live in the quarter that they still inhabit... [they] had been given the sad mission of opening public houses of prostitution in the locale of Yukseh Caldirim and the adjacent streets... To these unhappy people there came several Jewish families from Rumania, Hungary and

> Russia who fled from persecutions of which they had been victims or who wanted to rescue their children from the vigors of military service.[1]

But this was not the only reason for the rise of this trade. Other—albeit few—Jews entered the sex trade out of either economic want, moral corruption or simple opportunism. Moreover, despite the morally questionable nature of this business, the fact is that such activity—if the necessary permit was granted—was in fact legal. As a result, no matter how much the leaders of the local Jewish community might look disapprovingly at those who earned their living in this fashion, prostitution seemed by some in the community a small-scale trading venture not so very different than another commercial enterprise.[2] In his aforementioned report Aron Halévy recounts the view held by some of the city's Polish Jews (as well as his own assessment) regarding the brothel owners:

> A few of the [more] serious Poles look disparagingly at this impudence that would compel some of their co-racialists to open a 'shop' on Yüksekkaldırım. In the opinion of the [brothel owners] nothing could be more intelligent than to earn a living from the fruits of an extremely practical trade that allows one to accumulate a considerable savings without taking any risk. They have difficulty comprehending in understanding those who are courageous enough to engage in commerce on a street upon which they are in such demand. They are astounded upon learning that such and such persons whom they have met have either failed to succeed at [such a] trade or have gone bankrupt, but then slowly shake their heads in a meaningful fashion. When you attempt to speak with them on the subject of the women's virtue, they look at you with disbelief and say: the[se] are not virtuous women such as those mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. All of these women are of doubtful morality, and find it an irresistible pleasure to taste of the forbidden fruit. Or, an even more repulsive explanation: the husbands of these women are simply obtaining benefit from the lust and passion stirring in their spouses.[3]

By virtue of its geographic location, the Russian port city of Odessa also became an important center for the traffic in women. A French traveler touring the city in 1860 wrote that this trade was in the hands of Jews and that the women who fell into their clutches were sent to Constantinople.[4] Bristow quotes a journalist who reported that the number of Jews engaged in the

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[1] Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (Paris), File: Turkey IC1, letter from Aron Halévy to Alliance headquarters in Paris, dated March 12, 1890. (Quoted in Edward J. Bristow *op.cit*, p. 87).

[2] Edward J. Bristow, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[3] Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (Paris), File: Turkey IC1, letter of Aron Halévy to Alliance headquarters in Paris, dated March 12, 1890.

[4] Edward J.Bristow, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

Constantinople sex trade was so great that these persons formed a 'third community' after the Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews.[1]

The international aspect of this trade was once again reflected in the fact that a significant portion of the brothel owners in Constantinople had ties with that other major center of white slavery, Buenos Aires. To give but one example, the Ukrainian couple Gusta and Bercia Bleiberg immigrated to Constantinople from Chernovtsi in 1911. Gusta began by working in one of the brothels in Galata, while her husband Bercia worked both as a painter and procurer. Later that same year they went to Buenos Aires, but returned to the Ottoman capital two months later. Another example is Kune Gross, who hailed from the same city as the Bleibergs, and his Rumanian wife Nessie Wechsler. This couple went to Buenos Aires in 1907, where Nessie immediately began to work in a bordello owned by fellow Romanians. After three years they had accumulated sufficient capital to return to Constantinople, when they would purchase the brothel at No. 47 Synagogue Street in Galata from Gusta Farer for 36,000 Kronen,[2] a handsome sum that attests to the profitability of this trade. Gusta Farer, who owned a similar establishment in Bursa, pulled a significant profit when he sold his businesses.[3]

As mentioned, the Jews involved in Constantinople's sex trade often collaborated closely with other, similarly-employed coreligionists in other countries. This collaboration and cooperation was conducted in a highly organized fashion. Some light was shed on this otherwise shady business in 1892, with the trial of some 27 white slavers in Galicia. All of the defendants were Galician Jews, some of whom had been extradited back to Galicia by the Ottoman authorities. At the same time Ottoman officials refused to send back a number of important individuals involved in this trade, such as the shadowy figure Michael Moses Salamovitz, also known as Michael Pasha, who is alleged to have been an Ottoman agent. This gang of white slavers was discovered to have practiced the following division of labor: the 'suppliers' would travel around Galicia and Bukovina looking for young girls that they could trick into working for them and then sell to the brothels, while the 'transporters' would then bring them to Constantinople where they were handed over to the local agents, who would finally distribute them to the various brothels in Beyoğlu and Galata.[4] Isabel Vincent, a Canadian writer who examined the trade in women between Europe and South America wrote the following regarding the trial of this Galicia-to-Constantinople ring:

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[1] *ibid.* pp. 183-184.
[2] *ibid*, pp. 121-122.
[3] *ibid*, , p. 190.
[4] *ibid.*, p. 74.

> In 1892 the province became well known as a global center of white slavery. Twenty-seven Jewish traffickers were convicted at a two-week trial in the Galician capital, Lemberg. The traffickers had organized the sale of mostly Jewish girls to brothels in Constantinople. Fourteen-year-old Feige Aufscher, an orphan, was one of the victims and a star witness. She testified that she had been kidnapped by a Jewish pimp named Mendel Goldenberg. He had promised to marry her and obtain work for her as a housekeeper. Instead, she and others ended up in a series of brothels in Constantinople, forced to service dozens of clients a day. When foreign consular officials tried to search the brothels for the kidnapped women, the traffickers hid them in nearby caves. Somehow Aufscher had managed to get a message to the authorities, who were able to liberate her and the others. The trial was frontpage news in all the Polish newspapers.[1]

Galicia however was not the only source of supply for the brothels of Constantinople. At the end of the 1860s white slavers of Muslim, Armenian and Jewish extraction had all plying their trade in Budapest and its environs. In 1899, for instance, a Jewish merchant by the name of Samuel Bahr, was arrested while about to depart Budapest for Constantinople with 25 young girls. The sign in front of Bahr's office is telling in this regard: "Bahr, Exporter to the Orient".[2] One of Bahr's agents was the couple Julie and Anton Hirshfeld, who undoubtedly had been subject to legal investigations in the history of the business. This lowly pair collaborated with Solomon David, a Romanian Jew, in 1893 to snare unsuspecting young girls. Acting as a seller of inexpensive bracelets and baubles, David would go door to door in the impoverished Jewish quarters of Budapest seeking attractive women to ensnare. When he would come across a young girl who would listen to him as he extolled the wonders and virtues of Constantinople, he would promise to send her to the Ottoman capital accompanied by a male colleague who was an expert in finding employment for young European girls as nannies or private tutors for wealthy Turkish families. After a girl showed interest, an 'agent' like Julie Hirshfeld or their Muslim colleague Ahmed Moskitos would appear on the scene and help lure the unsuspecting victim to Turkey, where she would be forced into prostitution. The girls who left from Hungary would travel to Constantinople by river boat down the Danube, arriving at the Romanian port of Galati before transferring to a Black Sea coastal steamer that would take them to the Ottoman Empire. Until 1884 the river boats would be accompanied by Hungarian police until the Romanian border. But this measure had no deterrent effect whatsoever, since Romanian officials found that by encouraging the import of foreign prostitutes into their country—even if most were eventually destined for Constantinople—they could both receive

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[1] Isabel Vincent, *op. cit*, pp. 24-25.
[2] Edward J.Bristow, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

bribes from the white slavers for their indulgence and discourage Romanian girls from engaging in such trade. As a result, Romania served as something of a 'prostitute depot' for Turkey. The principal reason for the entry of Romanian Jewry into the trade in women was that they were legally prevented by the Romanian authorities from engaging in any other commercial business.[1]

The Budapest brothel owners Rosi Luft and Sarah Grossman were other important figures in the white slave trade between Hungary and Constantinople. Grossman actually acquired the nickname "Turk" because of her practice of sending young Jewish girls to Constantinople. For her part, Rosi Luft also used her 'agents' to find and gather women to be sent to the Imperial Ottoman Harem, as well as to the brothels of Beyoğlu and Galata.[2] The Austrian consul in Constantinople gave the following description of these girls from Galicia and Hungary:

> Most of these girls have already practised professional prostitution earlier in their homeland and from need as well as in the hope of lucrative earnings, throw themselves into the arms of Galician and Bukovnian procurers who accompany them unmolested via Budapest-Belgrade or via Bukarest-Galatz-Kustendje to Constantinople and deliver them to brothels.[3]

The White Slaver Mehmet Zeki Bey

One of the interesting players in this trade was a person known as Mehmed Zeki Bey, or "Capitaine Nelken y Waldberg". Dr. Harry Stuermer, who was the Constantinople correspondent for the *Kölnische Zeitung* between 1915 and 1916 described Zeki Bey as follows:

> Everyone in Constantinople knows — or rather knew, for he has now feathered his nest comfortably and departed to Germany with his money — Mehmed Zeki "Bey", the publisher and chief editor of the military paper *Die Nationalverteidigung* and its counterpart *La Défense*, published daily in French but representative of Young Turkish-German interests. Hundreds of those who know Zeki also know that he used to be called "Capitaine Nelken y Waldberg". Fewer know that "Nelken" alone would have been more in accordance with fact.
>
> I will relate the history of this individual, as I know it from the mouths of reliable informants – members of the Embassy and the Consulate. Nelken, a Rumanian Jew, a commercial traveller or some such, had been

[1] *ibid.*, pp. 187-188
[2] *ibid.*, pp. 67-69
[3] *ibid.*, p. 189.

several times in prison for bankruptcy and fraud, and at last fled from Rumania. He took refuge in the Turkish capital, where he continued his business and married a Greek wife. Here again he became bankrupt, as is only too clear from the public notice of restoration in the Constantinople newspapers in summer 1916, when his lucrative political activity as the champion of Krupp's, of the German cause and "the holy German war", from both the pan-Germanic and the pan-Islamic standpoints, provided him with the wherewithal to pay off his former disreputable debts.

To go back to his history – with money won by fraud in his pocket, he deserted his wife and went off, no doubt having made a thorough and most professional study of the subject in the low haunts of Pera, as a white slave trader to the Argentine, and there – I rely for my information on an official of the German Consulate in Pera – set up as proprietor of a brothel in Buenos Ayres. Then, as often happens, the Argentine special police took him into their service, thinking, no doubt, on the principle of "setting a thief to catch a thief", that he would have special experience for the post. Grounds enough there for him to add on the second name on his falsified passport "Nelken y Waldberg" and to call himself in Europe a "Capitaine de la Gendarmerie" from the Argentine!

From there he went to Cairo and edited a little private paper called *Les Petites Nouvelles Egyptiennes*. For professional blackmail he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, but unfortunately only *in contumaciam*, for he had already fled the country, not, however, before he had been publicly smacked on the face in the "Flasch" beer garden without demanding satisfaction as an "Argentine General" should – a performance that was later repeated in every detail in Tok[at]lian's Restaurant in Constantinople.

He told me once that he had been sentenced in this way because, on an understanding with the then German Diplomatic Agent in Cairo, von Miquel, he had attacked Lord Cromer's policy sharply in his paper, and that it was his patron von Miquel who had given him the timely hint to leave Egypt. I will leave it to one's imagination to discover how much truth there was in this former brothel-keeper's connection with official German "world-politics" and high diplomacy. From what I have seen personally since, I believe that Zeki, alias Nelken, was probably speaking the truth in this case, although it is certainly a fact that in German circles in Cairo at that time it was generally understood that ordinary blackmail had been the reason of his sentence to imprisonment.

Nelken then returned to Constantinople and devoted himself with unflagging energy to his previous commercial activities. He turned to the Islam faith and became a citizen of the Ottoman Empire because he found it more profitable so to do, and could thus escape from his former liabilities. Then in spite of lack of means, he managed to found a military newspaper, which, however, soon petered out. Nelken became Mehmed Zeki and a journalist, and of course called himself "Bey".[1]

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[1] Dr. Harry Stuermer, *Two War Years in Constantinople*, (translated by E. Allen and the author), (London, New York: Hodder and Stoughton), 1917, pp. 148-151.

Jewish Prostitutes in Various Memoirs

While roughly one century ago prostitution was a phenomenon against which Jews both in Constantinople and around the world fought against with great fervor, in our day it is an issue that is quite distant from the Jews of Turkey, and one which no one seems to want to discuss or remember. During the researching and writing of this article I solicited older members of the Jewish community for their recollections of this phenomenon, but the fruits of my labors were paltry indeed: only two individuals claimed to have any memory of such things:

> **Rafael Sadi:** The Karaköy brothel and the *Ashkenazi* synagogue were practically right next door to one another, and I'll tell you about one of the women who used to ply her trade sometimes. She told me that these Ashkenazi Jews who ran the brothel had brought their capital when they came from Russia to Constantinople and established a 'place of employment'. According to the rumors, these men were all highly religious persons, people who kept all of the religious ordinaces and who prayed three times a day without fail. That's the reason that they built the synagogue close to their establishments. It was said that the Russian capital that operated there was all from the White Russians. Whether they got the name 'White Russian' because it referred to a race or because the bodies of their women were white is a separate topic for study. There is a saying that has come down to us from those days, from the capital[ists] and from the [brothel] owners, I believe; it's said especially with a Russian accent: "First the wheat, then the treat" ("First money, then the service").[1]
>
> **Denis Ojalvo:** I'll relay to you what I heard from the late husband of my maternal aunt (Boni İllel): Those who practiced prostitution and their procurers worked in and around Galata, and the great majority of them were Ashkenazi immigrants. When the madame who ran things, Madame Ğoza, would say "Es gibt ein müşteri" ("We've got a customer!") and then assign the customer [to a certain girl], she would then hold out her open palm, demanding payment, and then, turn her palm to the ground saying "First this, and then that".[2]

In his novel *Papeloğlu*, in which the well-known Turkish author Ercümend Ekrem Talu described the events of the 1930s, there is some mention of the Ashkenazi prostitutes:

> After the sunset, this was the view that the famous Galata presented itself. And those Turks who aren't familiar with [the] history [of this area] would learn of the existence of a 'little Poland' as they continued down these streets, because Poland, which at that time was occupied by the Russians and the Austrians, would send its unmarried and destitute women to our country as a 'product for export'. Most of these [women] were Jews who came from

[1] Email from Rafael Sadi to the author, dated February 22, 2003.
[2] Email from Denis Ojalvo to the author, dated February 23, 2003.

Tarnopol, Lemberg or Vilno. They had their own strange, coarse accent, and a Polish that was very similar to German. They all pronounced their 'r's like a gutteral 'gh', and the custormers used to find their accents highly entertaining.[1]

In the memoirs, the Turkish author Ahmet Kemâl Üçok describes one of the houses of ill repute in Galata and the women who worked there:

We entered a house on Kömürcü Street; its owner was a Pole. The smell of sterno, dampness, mildew and onion were enough to cause one's stomach to turn. At the end of a little courtyard strewn with coarse sandstone, there were a pair of porter's kerchiefs wound before a staircase from which the curtain had been drawn back.

The fringes of the curtain were frayed and looked as if they had been repeatedly tread on, and it wasn't clear what color they were. We sat down on the sofa next to the staircase. The material covering the arms and back of the sofa were pitch black and had been draped over with another fabric. It was extremely filthy and stank greatly.

Three women came out and my [two] friends went upstairs because they were drunk. I refused to go with the well-worn, 45 year old heap [that stood before me].

A Bulgarian girl came in from the house across the way. She was quite beautiful. Someone was singing an old folk song with a Bosnian accent:

"She beats her wash on the [banks of the] Danube,
Who doesn't like this Bulgarian girl?"

If the Bulgarian girl in the song had an equal, this was her.

She told the Polish woman that she had received 16 Marks since the morning. And if she earned at least nine Marks in the evening, that would come out to 25 Marks total.

If we calculate at least ten minutes worth of sexual intercourse per Mark, then that makes four hours and ten [minutes worth of work].

In any case, if you rub two pumpkin stems together for a half an hour it produces enough heat to light dry straw.

The exchange for 25 Marks was 25 Kurush, and half of this went to the brothel owner–in exchange for the capital outlay for clothing, food, one weekly trip to the municipality doctor, and, in the event of any diseases, the cost of the treatment therefor.

Even the remaining sixty-two-and-a-half kurush would not remain in this poor woman's hands, passing instead to those of her lover or her pimp.

In this way was the lives and bodies of such fallen women divided up between the [customers, lovers and pimps].

The lover is the man whom the woman loves, and she spends on him the money that she gets from the customer.[2]

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1 Ercümend Ekrem Talu, *Papeloğlu*, (Istanbul: Semih Lütfi Matbaa ve Kitabevi), 1938, p. 52.

2 Ahmet Kâmil Üçok, *Görüp İşittiklerim*, (Ankara: Okuyan Adam Yayınları), 2002, pp. 290-291.

Prostitution in the Reports of the Director of Constantinople's Police School

According to a publication by Mustafa Gâlib, the Director o Constantinople's Police School during the years following the First Worl War, the breakdown of the city's registered prostitutes according to religio and nationality was as follows:

Muslim [Ottoman]	774	French	5
Greek "	691	Serbian	5
Armenian "	194	Bulgarian	5
Jew "	124	German	3
Russian	171	Polish	2
Greek	90	Arab	2
Austrian	23	Yugoslavian	1
Romanian	23	American	1
Italy	12	Iranian	?
Total: 2,125			

Regarding these figures, Gâlib makes the following assessment:

> There are, [in addition to the aforementioned individuals] 97 undocumented women who are presumed in the official registry to b prostitutes. Apart from these, the number of women whose moral conditio has changed for a variety of reasons, can be said to be in the thousands.[1]

Another source regarding the number of prostitutes operating i Constantinople is the statistics of the Police General Directorate. According t the statistics of the year 1921 the number of women who were practising prostitution in any single day was as follows:[2]

Women with no permit	
Muslim	846
Non Muslim	1488
Women with permit	
Muslim	579
Non Muslim	122

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[1] Mustafa Gâlib, (Dersaadet Polis Mektebi Müdürü Hidemât-ı Fi'liye ve Terbiye-i Meslekiyye Muallimi) *Fâhişeler Hayatı ve Redâet-i Ahlâkiyye*, Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1338, pp. 73-75, quoted in Zafer Toprak, "İstanbul'da Fuhuş ve Zührevi Hastalıklar 1914-1933", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Volume 7, No 39, March 1987, pp. 31-40, 35.

[2] Mehmet Temel, *İşgal Yıllarında İstanbul'un Sosyal Durumu*, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara, 1988, p. 256.

How Did Prostitution Affect the Jewish Community of Constantinople?

The most important measure proposed by Samuel Cohen to prevent the spread of prostitution among young Jewish girls was education. In the report that he submitted to the committee upon his return to London Cohen mentioned the presence of thousands of children running around aimlessly on the streets of Constantinople's poorest quarters. Jews made up the largest portion of these. Cohen said that, the young Jewish girls who were reaching the age of graduation at the schools did not have the possibility to be employed in the industry since no industry existed in Turkey. Therefore more Jewish schools were needed to be founded and the girls needed to be given a vocational and artisanal education so that they wouldn't fall into the morass of prostitution. The widespread practice of prostitution in Constantinople by what were essentiall foreign Jews would have a significant influence on the local Jewish community. The Constantinople community was proud of the fact that not a single one of their girls or women that were born on Ottoman soil was engaged in either prostitution or running a brothel. While this had indeed long been the case, as a result of the poverty and social disruption that arrived in the wake of the Balkan Wars, a great number of Jewish families in the capital came to a state of suddenly being unable to earn a living. With these hardships pressing against them, and the evidence of how easily the foreign prostitutes seemed to earn money, a number of local Jewish women were tempted to enter into the trade. Despite the charitable efforts of a number of the women of the Constantinople Jewish community to save some of these girls from such a fate, the lack of sufficient means brought their efforts only limited success.

There was a girls' orphanage in Şişli that had 26 beds and was several years old. All of the girls had lost both parents and all were of school age. There was a long waiting list of those wishing to be accepted into the orphanage.[1] It was a calamity for the capital's Ashkenazi Jews that such a large percentage of the city's prostitution was under the control of other Ashkenazis, albeit, those of foreign citizenship.[2] Community leader Aron Halévy gave an overview of this situation in a report he sent to the Alliance headquarters in 1890:

> The brothels that are located in a place near to Yüksek Kaldırım street are full of Jewish girls who have been lost to the community, and this is having an extremely bad effect on the Polish youth as well. These

[1] S. Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.
[2] Edward J. Bristow, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

> establishments, which go on, one after another for a lengthy stretch of the street, are a black mark sullying the good reputation of our German community. The poverty that has descended upon so many houses of Polish [Jews] has caused many of our poor Jewish girls who work in the Tobacco Régie to enter into the brothels. If there is any comfort to be had, it can be mentioned that one does not encounter prostitution among the young Sephardic girls, and the upright behavior and proper demeanor of the Sephardic girls who go to work at the Tobacco Régie to earn their living keeps the dandies and lotharios from approaching them.[1]

Since there were no Sephardic girls or women to be found among the Jewish prostitutes of Constantinople, this community initially appeared to be largely indifferent to the problem. Only after the waves of destitute refugees arriving in the city in the wake of the Balkan conflicts did the situation begin to change to one of increasing alarm as some of the Sephardic refugee women began to engage in the sex trade in order to survive. According to one estimate, in 1911 some 200 Jewish families in Constantinople were earning their living from prostitution. Often, the various functions involved in the trade were divided up between the various family members: The women would solicit and receive the money within the brothel, the older members of the family would go out and procure customers or even run the Ashkenazi synagogue *Or Hadash* from which the majority of the trade's operators and patrons came. The existence of such a synagogue was necessitated by the fact that these families engaged in this trade were prevented from entering the other, 'upstanding' synagogues. The synagogue's president was the aforementioned Michael Moses Salamovitz, or 'Michael Pasha', that mysterious individual that appears to have been both a procurer and an Ottoman spy.[2] The native Ashkenazi Jews of Constantinople would eventually succeed in having this synagogue closed down, but Grand Rabbi (*Hahambaşı*) Moshe Levi (1872-1908) would soon thereafter allow these families to reopen their house of worship on the condition that it would be surrounded on all sides by a high wall. The traffickers than insisted that eleven of their members be permitted to attend the synagogue but the community rejected it and the pimps' institutions continued to function until 1915, when the Constantinople Police Chief Bedri Bey would finally put an end to the city's semi-legal sex trade.[3] During that same year, two former prostitutes by the names of Rozi and Fremond purchased the Ashkenazi synagogue in Galata

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[1] Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (Paris), File: Turkey ICI, letter of Aron Halévy to Alliance headquarters in Paris dated January 3, 1890.

[2] Edward J.Bristow, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.

[3] Edward J. Bristow, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. The aforementioned synagogue was built in 1897 at the corner of Alageyik Yokuşu and Zürafa Street. See: Naim Güleryüz, *İstanbul Sinagogları*, (İstanbul: Ajans Class), 1992, p. 88; and Orhan Türker, *Galata'dan Karaköy'e Bir Liman Hikâyesi*, (Istanbul: Sel Yayıncılık), 2000, p. 61.

known as the Tofrei B'gadim (also known as the Schneidertempel) in order to assist other fallen women, and in which they housed men and women who worked in the sex trade.[1]

The Attitude of the Constantinople Police

Already in 1876, long before the white slave trade had become so widespread in Constantinople, the Ottoman Justice Ministry took the decision to 'cleanse' the Galata district of foreign prostitutes. For this purpose a round up of these women was conducted, and enough were eventually arrested to fill two ships. Yet, even as they were preparing to expel all of these women beyond borders of the empire, the concerted and insistant protests of the European powers forced the Ottoman authorities to cancel this decision.[2] As the years passed, the Ottomans would gradually change their attitude toward the phenomenon. In 1914, the leaders of the various churches, schools, synagogues and monastic centers in Galata would appeal to the Ottoman authorities, expressing their distress at the widespread prostitution within the district and requesting that the brothels be closed or at least relocated. Paradoxically, while the European powers had blocked a similar effort some four decades earlier, this time it was the authorities themselves who were unenthusiastic. Their main obstacle was the police, whose poorly paid staff regularly supplemented their income from the brothel owners, who, in exchange for police indulgence and their 'turning a blind eye', were obliged to pay regular bribes. Samuel Cohen describes the situation in his report:

> At present there are no laws against procuration, and the police are not at all helpful in endeavouring to stop the traffic. In Constantinople the question of the traffic cannot be easily dealt with without also taking largely into consideration the question of prostitution. Many people have become rich from carrying on both these "Trades" and it was pointed out to me how difficult it was to obtain the co-operation of the police officials. These officials receive very small wages, and often have to wait a long time for their payment. It is therefore little wonder that they seize the opportunity of obtaining a little ready money by closing their eyes, or even by actively helping the bullies and traffickers and owners of brothels. Efforts have recently been made to capture some of the traffickers, but it is a remarkable thing that these men have always been able to obtain information in time to permit them to escape into hiding.[3]

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[1] Aslan Yahni, (ed.) *90. Yıl Kuruluşundan Bugüne İhtiyarlara Yardım Derneği,* (Istanbul: Ohan Matbaacılık), 2006, p. 29.
[2] Edward J. Bristow, *op.cit.*, p. 181.
[3] S. Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

According to the Capitulations, the Great Powers were granted the right to each set up 'consular courts' in Constantinople where they could try persons of their respective nationalities instead of subjecting them to the Ottoman legal system.[1] In the face of such an arrangement, the struggle against prostitution—the overwhelming majority of whose players in Constantinople holding foreign citizenship—was rendered more difficult. When attempts were made to arrest foreign individuals involved in this trade, such persons could not only argue their immunity from Ottoman jurisdiction and were as often as not released, but even the various consular authorities had no right to arrest and prosecute citizens of other foreign countries. As a result, those brothel owners and prostitutes who did not already possess a foreign passport often went to great lengths to acquire one, with all the advantages it possessed. In an attempt to contend with these difficulties, an Inter-Consular Committee was eventually established. Among its functions was the preparation of a list containing the names of all of the well-known white slavers and their nationalities, intended to narrow these persons' room for maneuver, and to ensure that such persons were apprehended by the proper authorities and extradited back to their own countries of origin. When word of such measures got out, a great many of the foreign toughs, pimps and white slavers were impressed enough to flee the country. Nevertheless, these 'refugees' soon perceived that the Ottoman police were far from enthusiastic about carrying out the consular plan for ejecting them from the country, and they returned and resumed their activities.[2]

The Visit by German Feminist Bertha Pappenheim to Salonica, Constantinople and Izmir

Constantinople's reputation as one of the international centers of Jewish prostitution would make it a natural focus for those wishing to combat this phenomenon. Among these were Bertha Pappenheim (1859-1936), one of the central figures in Germany's feminist movement, Mme Eugène Simon, the leader of the Jewish Section of the French-based Association for the Protection of Young Women (*Association Pour la Protection de la Jeune Fille, Section Israélite*), as well as various leading figures from the Jewish *Hilfsverein* and *B'nai B'rith* societies, all of whom would visit the Ottoman capital to gather information and issue reports.[3] Pappenheim, who, in addition

[1] Edward J. Bristow, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
[2] S. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[3] Edward J. Bristow, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-277.

to Constantinople, would also visit the other major Jewish population centers of the empire (Salonica and İzmir), was spurred to undertake the struggle against white slavery as a result of a 1902 conference that she attended on the subject. Horrified at what she heard at this gathering, she resolved to establish an organization that would fight this trade in women, the Jewish Women's Federation (*Jüdischer Frauenbund*)[1] In the letters that she sent to a friend during her 1911 tour of the three Ottoman Jewish centers Pappenheim gave the following descriptions:

I had to send you a telegraphic cable. I was very excited to tell you how beautiful the sea is, that I noticed by means of *Baedeker* as Aegean, and how I always run again to my little balcony in order to see it shimmering. But first duty, and then pleasure.

So after going to the [Alliance] school in Adrianople, I went to a restaurant in which as is always the case now, I was the only female present. From there [I went] to the Chief Rabbi B. Until one year ago he was in Bucharest, although he wears his fez already with great dignity, and was insulted that I had known nothing about him from Bucharest, and expressed the good saying: "Frankfurt is the German Jerusalem". I quickly brought the conversation around to my material and found him to be quite organized. He has a 'black list' of women "who are bad", and believes that these are all [of the bad women] in the entire city!!! He is familiar with these 14 children. Adrianople has some 20,000 Jewish inhabitants, and I am afraid that if the rabbi is aware of 14 of them, then there must be at least 1,400 who "are bad". There is no doubt that B. means well. But his pedagogic method is alienating. The previous year he promised one girl "belle comme une Vénus" that if she behaved well for two years (and what's more, in Constantinople) then he would find her a husband (price: 30 Turkish Pounds).

But should these 14 girls continue to behave "badly", then he wished to punish them: either by publishing their photographs or by cutting off their braid, or by staining their faces with an impermeable ink! You can imagine my irritation; I explained to the rabbi, and he understood that despite the fact that the Torah prescribed rigorous means of punishment, these girls (the oldest being only 17) were more victims than perpetrators, and he promised to forgo such 'means of education'.

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[1] Marion A. Kaplan, "Bertha Pappenheim, Founder of German-Jewish Feminism", pp. 149-163 in Elizabeth Kotlun (ed), *The Jewish Woman New Perspectives*, (New York: Schocken Books), 1976.

A journalist, 'I. B.'[1], the publisher of the journal *La Boz de la Verdad*, claimed that the word "Pranger" is actually a Turkish one meaning hand or foot shackles. He is also of the opinion that the broad masses of Jews in Adrianople are very backward-looking in their traditional relations. There isn't a single person who worries about the girls who, from 12 years old on are left to their own devices. For 1,000 Florint a year the rabbis, he believes, could run a shelter [for them]. It was in any case urgent that something should happen for their sakes.

There were also complaints there about the L. Brothers, in whose house both male and female youths are brought to ruin.

Armed with the rabbi's blessing—I am superstitious enough to get worked up at that moment—I went back to the consul, in order to go with him to the *Vali*.

It's too bad that you didn't see this little expedition: you would have laughed till it hurt. I was very serious, only I was a little warm sitting there in my long travel coat.

The mansion in which the *Vali* sits is as far from the consulate as Prauheimerstrasse 9/28. Nevertheless, a *Kavass* went before us, for the protection of the consul (women should also never go out unaccompanied). This kavass was wearing gold-bedecked clothing, had two medals from our Kaiser on his chest, a sabre to his left, a pistol on his right, and a whip in his hand. In such a fashion he went before us, and the common folk made way. He accompanied us to the red carpet on the stairs, that separate the *Vali* from the common folk. He (the *Vali*) was very friendly, although he spoke a rather cumbersome French, and said that the task that I have set before myself was a worthy one for [a member of] the fairer sex (*le beau sexe*), but for foreign women! When I took the liberty of pointing out that we women could not complete this task alone, he replied in a soothingly: *le sexe fort vous aidera.*

The main thing for me was that he straight promised to no longer grant concessions to the L. family. If he did not do this, then "the *Vali*" would have lied. [The] Laura [family] is Bulgarian, and for this reason we will come up with something else. It can be foreseen that the noble brothers will relocate themselves somewhere else, but it is nevertheless worth something to have registered and shaken them up. Hopefully. After having enjoyed that day (and also at the *Vali's*) my umpteenth pinch of snuff, I traveled on to Caragatsch (Karaağaç), and from there further still.[2]

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[1] The journalist's name was Isaac Barishak. Erol Haker, an independent scholar, who studied this newspaper gave me this information. I thank him.

[2] Bertha Pappenheim, *Sisyphus-Arbeit Reisebriefe aus den Jahren 1911 und 1912*, (Leipzig, Verlag Paul E. Linder), 1924, pp. 36-38.

Salonica, 1.4.1911
Dear Mrs. N.!

In Adrianople one sees very few Turkish women, here however one sees many who all go around in a type of 'domino' cloak with a little black veil before their faces. I saw a few who wore their veil thrown back and were of striking beauty, and I was told that the ugly women are those that are the most heavily veiled. I think we might want to introduce this custom also in the West. The Jewesses of Salonica are supposed to be extraordinarily beautiful. The most beautiful that I saw here—perhaps the most beautiful that I have ever seen anywhere, or that exists in the world, for that matter—I came across today in a bordello. It's a crying shame that such a paradigm of human beauty should be born in such an environment and to such a life's purpose. I can understand that a man would commit all manner of foolery for the sake of such a woman, but I cannot understand this person of 20-odd years, who would offer her body—the best and most beautiful of her possessions—for sale. Perhaps she doesn't have a soul? Naturally, she can neither read nor write. I also heard here from the authorities that the Alliance schools still leave much to be desired in every sense, and that, above all, no proper and conscientious control and supervision [of them] has been put in place. Before roughly one and a half years the Alliance sent three gentlemen on an inspection tour throughout the Orient, and they [covered] 28 schools in 42 days! It appears that the system of the Baron Hirsch Schools in Galicia is more appropriate. What the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden (German Jewish Charitable Aid Society) does here is not cultural in any sense, as they only teach Hebrew, something that doesn't provide the children with anything; rather it thrusts them into [adult] life leaving them totally at the mercy of the exploiters.

There are more than 100 brothels here, all of them located in one quarter [of the city]. I went through the quarter today with İbrahim İhsan Efendi, the Dragoman of the Austrian Consul-General Para. There are hundreds of Jewish girls there: many Russians, many from the city itself, something that would signify a degree of debauchery, for otherwise they would mostly go to another city in order to ply their trade somewhere in which no one knew them.

İhsan Efendi divided [these types up for me]: "The female artists, who work, live in 'pensions' and still earn [something] on the side; the coquettes, who only earn money [there] and live in 'pensions', and—to put it gently—the girls, who live in such rendez-vous establishments".[1]

* * *

Sunday, April 2

Mr. I. a large-scale merchant who was certainly quite astonished to see me here and who devoted a great deal of time to me, as I received a tour of the firm 'B. S.' from him. He has no knowledge of general things, and I was only able to make clear to him the value of my efforts by using words that are found in his vocabulary.

I told him and proved to him that I saw a parallel between the credit possessed by a state in the world of business, and the valuation, the respective assessment of the value of the woman in this state, and that the price list is at the same time a price list for the woman, in the same way that the evaluation of the worth of the Jews in a given state grows in the same proportion that they avail themselves of culture.

When a [Jewish] community like Salonica, where between sixty to eighty thousand Jews live in great freedom and even represent a recognized commercial preponderance, not so much intelligence is produced to recognize the value of a culture medium for the community—for they are short-sighted merchants. And I don't even wish to mention the several thousand Jewish prostitutes here, but the fact that the Jewish community admits that thousands of children, from ten years old on, work in factories in which the young boys and girls are ruined, and it's no cheap sentimentality to wish to prevent this![2]

....

* * *

Constantinople, April 8, 1911

In this manner many discrepancies can occur. For my field of specialization as well I am getting inconsistent information, out of which I can nevertheless extract the truth. I hear in no uncertain terms and without *exception that as much as* 90% of the market [in women] in Constantinople

[1] Bertha Pappenheim, *op. cit*, pp. 40-41.
[2] Bertha Pappenheim, *op. cit*, pp. 41-42.

are Jewish women, and that in the three years since the [restoration of the] Constitution [this number] has increased considerably! And to this it should be added that there is here among the Jews a complete lack of the ability to understand that this trade in humans as something dishonorable, a moral defect that in any case derives from living together with the Turks, or—what appears to me as more probable—a hereditary mindset among the oriental Jews. The "sexuality" here has not given rise to any moral outrage. I still must hear and see and compare and observe [much] here [before reaching any conclusions], but one thing is clear to me: one cannot simply sit on one's hands [and do nothing], and above all, a Falasha Committee is a Carnival farce when one considers how the shirt is created that one would put on over the robe [worn by] the Falashas.[1] (...)

Saturday in the morning I went to see the Austrian Consul, who told me all about his efforts in regard to the white slave trade, but today I know even better that the great majority of Jewish women don't even come into his consideration. "They don't want to", it is said. I understand that what they don't want is to be repatriated, for what should a woman do in Dukla or Suyatin once she has been a prostitute? Moreover, they are only deported as far as Trieste. By its very injustice, this whole thing about what they "want" or "don't want" really makes me want to push for a fight. After all, what does a 14 or 15 year old girl know about what she wants when she is forced to walk the streets or be brought to physical ruin working for the Régie[?]

Mr. P. was an agreeable chap, but in fact he couldn't care less about the subject—like others as well. Once again, he referred me to his official, A. L., who has devoted more effort to the matter than any others and has achieved little or nothing [for his labors]. He is Catholic and explained to me what a "Kessubah"[2] is, because "through this idiotic law of the Jewish religion, thousands of Jewish girls are ruined annually".

He is well-meaning and appears to be a capable detective. Perhaps he will go with me and make a little tour of inspection. Yesterday afternoon I attempted to submit some of my letters of reference/recommendations, apart from Mr. W., who [in any case] came to see me in the evening—in a smoking jacket. Luckily, I had been wearing a different dress yesterday evening for the first and only time—I don't actually know why. I had the

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[1] This metaphor is not entirely clear to me, but it seems to be an allusion to the hypocrisy of Sephardic Jewry investigating the situation of the Falashas (I recall reading somewhere that Haim Nahum Efendi took at least one fact-finding trip to Ethiopia for this purpose) while doing nothing about the work and sexual exploitation of the young Jewish men and women of the Ottoman Empire.

[2] Ashkenazi pronunciation for a *ketuba*, or marriage contract.

feeling that it was very important. As for my other feelings, I don't want to reveal them yet, and be careless toward an "important man".

After that I used the Sabbath afternoon to seek out the *Hahambaşı*, the Chief Rabbi whom the Constitution of Salonica raised, so to speak, onto the throne. As you know, he is interested—in the wake of the London Congress 'opposing' the trade in women, and we were amicably received (Mr. S. L. gave me a letter of introduction in Salonica), and were conversing shortly. He knows all manner of things, but certainly not enough, and therefore I do not believe that he has the necessary power to do something. He knows, for instance, that in Constantinople there is an entire synagogue of white slavers[1], in which the womens' rooms purchase for their pimps the "Eliyahus", the honors and the blessings during the religious services and Torah reading and such; he should have the power to prevent [the functioning of] this "House of God" and yet he does not! He has no reasons, instead—I should also be afraid.

But H.[aim] N.[ahum], His Eminence is otherwise quite sympathetic. I asked him to recommend to me one or more Spanish [i.e., Sephardic] families (or me to them) for the Passover Seder, and he invited me to his own place! You know that this amiability also has its unpleasant side for me, but I couldn't refuse it, and in fact I am now quite looking forward to hearing a real Spanish Seder. The Grand Rabbi also has a Rebbetzin, a beautiful, young woman who thinks well and thinks modern, but there is no one to lead or guide her. For all of Constantinople there is but one orphanage for 20 children, and a hospital. The Alliance schools are now one vacation right now and I cannot see them, but I in any case believe that they are insufficient, both in quantity and quality, especially for the girls. "No one" knows of what one should be mindful, and what's more, the well-situated women are completely devoid of understanding. Nor here can I see and speak with one of the Jewish "Ladies", not even with those who are "philanthropically" active—apart from the Rebbetzin H. N.![2]

....

Constantinople, April 11, 1911

Early yesterday I was at the German Consulate, where I [was able to] strongly interest one of the middle-level officials, Dr. F. In other words: he knew absolutely nothing about all of those things that I wished to know, only

[1] Footnote in the original text: Note: Taken away from the operation of Dr. Aschkenazy after 1915. The white slavers naturally continue to circulate freely and are apparently a quorum (*Minjon*) undisturbed at some other synagogue.

[2] Bertha Pappenheim, *op.cit*, pp. 50-54.

that the trade in women was on the increase. This same fact, no longer new, was confirmed by another official who was summoned, a Mr. M. I believe, and Dr. F. promised me a letter [of introduction] to some or other Turkish authority. Whether or not he came, I don't know, for I then went—always flanked by a Dragoman—to Mrs. G., recommended by Mrs. H. In front of the house I would hear the obedient practicing of piano, and while I waited for the lady of the house, I let my eyes roam across a little table and a board with old colored glasses, some silhouettes on the wall, pictures of Brahms and Wagner, porcelains, and between them all beautiful items of the Orient as well—in short, a cultural milieu. Mrs. G. came, a portly woman, and, as it appeared, musical, the owner and director of a news service, Protestant (young Protestant was my impression), very gracious. She told me straight away that she had no interest in those things in which I was interested, and told me—which I had in any case already heard from others—that the social life here was a great big bore, even within the German colony. The various colonies [of Europeans] were quite separate from one another and each reflected its own little miniature city, which only thoroughly "outdo" one another through their great and clearly expressed antisemitism. To my question regarding who here concerned themselves with my issue, I heard for the 304th time: the wife of the Russian Consul-General P.

Then Mrs. G. told me, the lady [in question] had already received word of my arrival, and that she had wanted to give me a letter for her, I resolved to go there in the afternoon.

Mrs. G. had amicably invited me to dinner this evening, and would gladly go there.

And so: Mrs. P. received me quite graciously, but I was only able to honestly approach the subject after explaining to her that it was a great sacrifice for me, as a Jew, to enter the house of the Russian Consul. Mrs. P. is an American, and she was understanding and free enough to say that I was indeed generally correct, in this special case, which dealt with the protecting of all girls and women and such. After having set the proper distance between us, and I heard that the woman really does good and inter-confessional work and that her husband actually carries on the struggle, as well. For all I care, let him do it out of antisemitism so long as he has all the crooks rounded up. But she also complained that under the new regime there is not much more that can be done! She had set up a shelter, with a little committee, to which the girls who wished to free themselves would daily be brought—but no longer. Also the pregnant ones for whom she was able to care no longer turn up, because the Russians now simply say 'they are probably Turks'. The little shelter, which had housed a great many Jewish girls, was closed over the

summer, partially because of the lack of funding and partially because it is no longer sought out. It would naturally be an honorable obligation for the larger European Jewish societies, such as the Alliance, the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, and so forth to support the activities of this woman and her committee, and I will bring myself to do this and to try and establish connections here, as well.

Mrs. P. would also like to make the acquaintance of the Hahambaşı, and I will also act to arrange this and to be present (in accordance with the wishes of Mrs. P.) at the first conversation.

I believe that the committee will have to be formed differently, and to be both made into and named something 'Ottoman', for thereby will they again gain entry into the Turkish [public] houses, despite the Capitulations. Mrs. P. is in direct connection with Odessa, but with a Christian committee there. What she has recounted to me regarding individual cases from her experience is revolting.

Mrs. P. already knew about me and my work, as did the wife of the German Ambassador, and that my stop here might well bring a little impetus to action. I asked Mrs. P. for a letter that would accredit me before our large Jewish organizations, something that I will no doubt have to demand in the future. For if I alone ('poor me') request or submit a petition, it is certain that nothing will happen. Of course, it can't be voiced aloud that I am being included in a letter written by Mrs. P. It hurts, but it's the truth. Mrs. P. asked me to come back to her after breakfast (2:00 p.m.), in order to meet a Turkish woman.

My 'lack of character' in going to the house of the Russian Consul appears not to have been a sacrifice entirely in vain.

Afterward I went again to visit Dr. L. and his wife, who have also received me quite graciously and whom I (very young people) will see again at Mrs. G.'s house.[1]

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* * *

Constantinople, April 13, 1911

From Mrs. P.['s place] I went to the governor of Pera, M. Bey, a young, quite sympathetic and intelligent man who quickly grasped what it was that I wanted. From all appearances, this was nothing unfamiliar to him, at least until my proposal. I got the impression as if he was actually quite

[1] Bertha Pappenheim, *op. cit*, pp. 58-60.

interested in the matter for which I needed him. I laid out to him the idea of a Ligue Ottomane against white slavery, he understood it and at that point I sensed that I could be useful as an outsider [i.e., a foreigner], and I promptly postponed my departure—confirmed as of that morning—until the next ship out. If nothing comes of this, and this [apparent] interest and engagement was simply a lie or 'formality', then I have done my duty and [at least] have prepared the beginning. Within the difficult political situation here I can naturally not know who should be on such a committee and who shouldn't; but what is certain is that the composition must be in accordance with the government's wishes. Perhaps I err [in thinking] that 'one' does not wish Mrs. P. to be without certain limitations?

Mrs. P. wishes to give me the album with photographs of the white slavers, so that I would pass it on to certain officials. Almost all [of them are] Jews.

'One' also appears not to be generally pulling for Mrs. R. Pasha. (I have in the meantime heard that she is Russian, and therefore not well-liked). Why that is I can of course not know, but I avoid visiting her in order not to further complicate my work.

I am writing down all of these things in detail, because they may one day be useful to know, although they are of course of little interest to the women subscribing.

I received an introduction to the governor and to the office of Security (Bureau de Sûreté) from the German Consul-General.

I am breaking off here in order to have a little meeting with Mrs. P. and another local lady, the Countess R.

It is impossible for me to write down everything that I hear, only this: there is no difference between Jews and the Greeks (*halten sich die Wage*) when it comes to wickedness and depravity. The German Embassy has set itself against my desire to either undermine or [somehow] break through the Capitulatory rights [of Europeans in the Ottoman Empire]! They deem it unnecessary [to do so simply] on behalf of the few German girls who are in circulation. As for the Greek, Catholic and Jewish [girls], they aren't worth the effort to move heaven and earth!!?

The Countess R. sees as the only path to run 'shouting' to the public, because the Young Turks wish to be [seen] in the world [as] men of culture. I will go to Mrs. P. tomorrow and gather material for myself so as to be able to report in Stockholm and in Strasbourg. It's good that I can have my say there if I create the opportunity to do so. The Countess R. has become involved in

the matter because after [since?] Messina she has looked for her Italian [servant?] girls in Galata. Moreover, she says that ever since the [restoration of the] Constitution, nothing can be done to protect the girls or against the pimps and white slavers, because, regardless of their origin, they now have Turkish passports. She told gruesome tales of child prostitution and the trade in young boys and girls. The Countess R. is a vivacious, energetic woman who expresses her indignation [well] in all languages. The Consul General P. also made an appearance for a few minutes. He allowed me to make reference to his actions in my report. In order to explain the foreseen inactivity of the Hahambaşı from the beginning and to excuse it to some extent, I told the Consul General that the poor fellow was not able to leave the house!....

* * *

Friday, the 14th (?)

I can already see that I will no longer be able to bring the Ligue Ottomane to life here; at this point the only decision that awaits me is that of which ship I will travel on. Regarding things Jews, I have in fact seen relatively little here, but there is little here [in any case], and all of the schools have let out for the vacation. Regarding Zionism I have also heard little or nothing here, because most of my business was with Christians. But what has shone through is embarrassing enough. Yesterday, the Countess R. said: Although the Turks themselves were less involved in prostitution and white slavery as the other confessions and peoples, it's nevertheless true that the Turkish government tolerates this trade, turns a blind eye too it and plays dumb, protects the traders themselves, takes a share of the [profits of this] trade and is thereby implicated in it. Any right-thinking person would concur with this explanation, and it is completely accurate in regard to the Jews. I remember the synagogue of the white slavers in Constantinople and the awareness of the [other] Jews of its presence. The Jewish [communal] associations were ultimately obliged to hire an agent in order to prove their good intentions and uprightness.

Up to now I have still not found a single person who would accompany me to Galata!

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* * *

Constantinople, April 14, 1911

Dear L.!

...Regarding the newspaper from Salonica, you can rest assured that I am not responsible for the article, nor for those others that I have found here in the reading room during the last days. But you are completely correct that, in light of the tastelessness of this fanfare, my work should have remained completely quiet and unnoticed. I have today seen actions that to a certain extent reveal the utter lack of scruple of these traders [in women], so that one doesn't need some stupid, useless newspaper article to accuse them of this (*affichieren*). I won't be going to Galata, as I never found anyone that would go with me and and I will never find the way alone. [In any case,] I [already] know enough...

* * *

Constantinople—Smyrna, April 16, 1911

Dear L.!

....

A certain Mr. R., representative of the Ashkenazi community in Constantinople was all with me after that. He appeared to be an upright man, born in Romania, he has taken on some or other position of trust and authority in some official state community agency. You have to get used to the fact that the Russians, Galicians and Romanians who are registered with the characteristic names of the Poles (*Kosenamen*) in Germany, here in the Orient play themselves off as 'German' Jews and disparage the Spanish [Jews] as backward and incapable of [possessing] culture. Anyway, I goaded Mr. R. with righteous [indignation] regarding the trade in women in Constantinople, and at this opportunity he told me that the Dragoman of the Austrian Consulate, A. L., was a crafty and corrupt friend of the society of white slavers. And it was apparently for this reason that he did not wish to go with me to Galata! At that point I told to Mr. R. as much as I knew; the men from the consulate considered him [A. L.] to be an upright and decent individual—H. had called him such even in Adrianople—and if he wished for confirmation of this (*Gegenproben*), then he should go to the Consul General P. or Ambassador P. and tell them what he knows.

He promised to do just this ...

After that Mr. A., the reporter for the *Jewish Chronicle,* arrived wanting to interview me. I strongly urged him not to waste any ink on me; we spoke at great length, however, and I even took him onto the ship with me. He is a Zionist. When I broached the subject of the financing of [pro-

Zionist] propaganda, he became clearly irritated. He had a child who was learning German—not Hebrew—as his mother language, that nonsense the leaders [of the movement] reserve only for the children of their followers. Mr. A. is the representative of a new nuance [of Judaism]: he eats "kosher out of nationalist [i.e., not religious] sentiment". But he promised me to do his best [for our cause] in the press.

There will likely be subscribers who will find these letters dealing with Zionists boring, but they are important for me and the purposes of my journey.

It is of infinite importance that my travels are not being done at the order or behest of others. – That is my strength, and, at the same time, my weakness.

My strength lies in the fact that I can come and go according to my good pleasure—my weakness, in the fact that no society or association sees the need to be of assistance to me or to sign on to carry out [my] suggestions in practice.

The nameless ship rocks back and forth fearfully; I want to lie down a bit, since I've already written down the main points.

They would have laughed if they had seen me yesterday and today granting audience and interviews one after the other. But I believe that everyone is [now] mindful of some of these things....

The ship has arrived from Odessa, it's called the "Princess of Oldenburg" and it reeks terribly of carbolic acid (*Karbol*), whether intentionally or as an afterthought, this chronicler cannot say---[1]

* * *

April 20, 1911

In accordance with the wish of the Consul General, Dr. M. devoted [his day] to me and led me through the Jewish quarter, where there was on overproduction of children. But these Sephardim are decisively better physical specimens than the Galician Jews. On the holidays I found them all out on the streets; the women and girls do not work, as little as the Turkish women. Dr. H. apologized, [explaining that] they were fulfilling the commandments of [their] sex, and they should know it better than Dr. H., because they are actually living it, while he merely studies and interprets it according to how he pleases.

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[1] Bertha Pappenheim, *op. cit*, pp. 73-74.

Dr. M. went with me to a long, street-like courtyard, surrounded by some 30-40 so-called houses or apartments. Since the cholera had been here shortly before, it was supposed to have been particularly grievous in this quarter, with a 60% mortality rate among the Jews, despite their easy access to all manner of medical advice and counsel. The inhabitants flutter around Dr. M. and myself, like sparrows, look me over with a naïve and unabashed curiosity and solicit the doctor for medical advice. In this way we make our way up, climbing into a tiny little hut, in which a man lay upon a patch of carpet, moaning and wailing. Dr. M. asked and examined, and concludes that the man is suffering from a painful case of sciatica. What a shame. From all of the cracks and seams in the floor emanates air and dampness; at the man's head a child is crouching over a coal brazier. Man and woman and 'their creation' live in the space, which is not, however, filthy at all.

Magnificently beautiful children are carted around from one place to another, and all are proud of their own progeny—and rightly so. Then we go to the "Lazarett" (military hospital), two large courtyards surrounded by wooden houses and galleries, where the community sends its poorest members to live. At present some 156 families are accommodated there. As the result of [the expenditure of] enormous effort and preventive measures, there was not a single case of cholera experienced in this military hospital, which also has a special spring. Further on there is a [charitable] society "Ozer Dalim" (Hebrew: 'Aid of the Poor') [that works] against street begging, but—and this is the most shocking—within a Jewish population of some 50,000 there is not a single hospital.

There was [once] a hospital that have been donated by Baron Rothschild (it is supposed to have been located in a very unhygienic area), under whose administration it was supposed to have proceeded in all things, so that the subsidy from Vienna ceased [after a while]. Nevertheless, there is a crying need—among many others—for a hospital. The community has collected some 60,000 Fr. in order to construct one, but of course this is not enough. Afterward, I saw a small ashkenazi synagogue, pretty and clean, in which an elderly Russian Jew, wearing a fez on his head, performed the formality of welcoming [us] to the house of God. I was glad to have found a *Maskir* box. – Dr. M. was in Frankfurt a few months back, where he visited Ehrlich and others, as well as Berlin, and claimed to have been the first doctor in Turkey to have introduced the 606 (Salvarsan). He is supposed to have had to contend with all manner of difficulty [in doing so].

There is a special hospital here for venereal diseases, in which an orderly functioning appears to have been achieved, apparently without the state having to take extraordinary measures. The expenses are to be covered by the fees paid by the girls [i.e., prostitutes], and it is specified how much they should pay in advance.

I am trying to make it clear to Dr. E., the President of the Municipality to whom I was introduced by Dr. M., exactly what I was hoping [to do] with the Ligue Ottomane, and I hope that I will be able to establish some sort of relations between him and Constantinople. He is a member of the Freemasonic lodge and appears quite energetic and active. He established a hospice (*Asyl*) for the homeless, originally in a chemist's lab, into which he accepts everyone, men, children, and women (prostitutes). With the prostitutes he makes an easy time of it: he has them cured at the hospital and then he marries them off! It would take me too long to explain to you today the conditions under which this procedure is possible among the Turks, but it would nevertheless be quite good if I were to allow myself [to say] something verbally. I will give this some thought.

Afterward we visited the "venereal hospital" and from there, into the bad quarter in which one house after another is filled with girls. For their medical appointments, they go with made up hair, with artificial flowers and bright ribbons; when one [who doesn't know better] sees the wagons [in which they are traveling], they could easily assume that it would be a wedding party. I wish that all of the girls could see what I had seen in the hospital only a half an hour earlier—perhaps that would have cooled the ardor of many of them for business. It was important that I made the good Dr. aware of the fact that so many very young people—the clientele—were mulling around on the streets. He was very moved by this, and if he has the will to do so, he certainly has the power—with the aid of the police—to keep these youngbloods far from here for a goodly period of time. There should not be much trade in women, but that fact is not openly apparent among the majority of public houses. One speciality of the agents for these houses are the postcard merchants.

After all which I had seen before noon, I felt the need to get out into the open air, that is to say, to go by car, and I took a dragoman and drove to up to a mountain, nestled within a beautiful chain, that had a magnificent view of the city and the harbor, and we climbed some ways up to an ancient aqueduct, through whose arch one could see the landscape framed as if in a picture. Under one tree a Jewish family was singing and clapping their hands in rhythm. We encountered many groups of Jews wandering around on account of the holiday. The girls, without hats, wearing their hair beautifully done up with colorful ribbons, combs and hairpins, but with many very beautiful faces, too.....[1]

[1] Bertha Pappenheim, *op. cit*, pp. 78-79.

Measures Taken in the Struggle Against Prostitution

In addition to the foreign Jewish organizations, many of the leading figures of the Constantinople Jewish community would also join in this struggle. Haim Nahum, the Ottoman Grand Rabbi from 1908-1920 would submit to the Ottoman Interior Ministry a list of pimps and procurers then active in the capital, but this effort, like the others, bore little fruit. In this case, a good part of the reason was the fact that the Sephardic, Francophile Nahum was roundly unpopular with the city's Ashkenazi community, both for his political views and for the traditional domination of his fellow Sephardic Jews in community affairs. Moreover, this was the period (1910-1911) in which the tensions between the two communities were at their height, and the highly Ashkenazi flavor of the problem assured both that Nahum would not make the issue one of his top priorities and that any action or proposal on his part would be viewed with the utmost suspicion by the city's Ashkenazi community. Nor were the Ottoman authorities any more cooperative. For reasons stated above, no official action was ever taken in response to Nahum's list.[1]

During this same period (1910), the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women held an international conference in London to discuss possible actions that could be taken in the struggle against prostitution. As a part of the preparation for this conference information was gathered about the sex trade in Constantinople (as well as other places) as a result of which it was learned that a very large percentage of both the victims and perpetrators involved in the trade in women were Jews. It was in a large part as a result of this information that world Jewry began to take a closer interest in the situation in the Ottoman capital and to meet in order to devise a coordinated plan for its elimination there. Yet, despite their efforts, the unfortunate outbreak of the Balkan Wars only two years later would prevent much progress on this front.[2]

Within Constantinople itself, Dr. Israel Auerbach, the local representative of the *B'nai B'rith* lodge and the German-based *Hilfsverein* would be the one to take the initiative.[3] The first locally coordinated effort to combat prostitution was a meeting arranged and hosted by the American

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[1] Edward J. Bristow, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-277.

[2] S. Cohen, *op.cit.*, pp. 2-3. Both Grand Rabbi Haim Nahum and Mme Semach would be invited to the 1910 meeting, but neither ended up attending. Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women, *Official Report of the Jewish International Conference on the Suppression of the Traffic in Girls and Women*, London April 5-7, 1910, (London: Werheimer Lea and Co.), 1910.

[3] Edward J. Bristow, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-278.

Ambassador to the Porte, Henry Morgenthau, on March 12, 1914. In regard to the meeting, Morgenthau would write in his diary the following passage:

> At 5:00 p.m. we had a meeting of the White Slave Committee. [Rev. Robert] Frew [President, Association for the Protection of Young Woman] presided, [William Alexander] Coote [Secretary of International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic] spoke, and I presented resolutions. [Sir Louis] Mallet [British Ambassador] and [Suleiman al] Bustany [Ottoman Minister of Commerce and Agriculture] also spoke. There were about 70 present: Oksan, Garroni, [Italian Ambassador], Moncheur [Belgian Ambassador], [Constantin] Mano [Romanian Ambassador], Mr. Von Mutius, [Chargé d'Affairs, German Embassy], [Baron Hans Von] Wangenheim [German Ambassador] Werndel, Saidler, etc. It was quite a success. I spoke pretty strongly.[1]

Morgenthau would continue his discussions of the subject on the following day, and would write the following:

> March 13, Friday:
> 8:30 Dr. [Mary Mills] Patrick [President of the Constantinople College for Women] came for breakfast and we discussed the White Slave Committee and opening of her new buildings. She asked me whether she should write to President Wilson. 10:00 meeting of the White Slave Committee. I steered the entire meeting and insisted on going slow. We had 24 present and it looks promising. Coote was overruled. We appointed a committee in organization to meet next Monday. I told them if I was to be responsible for success no hurry was permitted. I went to enlist Ottoman authorities. Afternoon, we had a children's party; 5:00 to 6:30 p.m. Samuel, Chief of Detective Office[2] was here. I offered him the executive secretaryship of the White Slave Committee which he declined but promised us hearty support. He said he could ship away 100 traffickers, mostly Russians, within one week, and spoke of underlings in Consulates who are in league with the traffickers. We must have Consul Generals with us.[3]

At this gathering it was decided to form the Association for the Protection of Young Girls and Morgenthau sent the following report to State Department:

> I have the honor to report that yesterday, the 12th instant, there was a meeting held to perfect the organization of an association for the suppression of the white slave traffic in Constantinople, a newspaper account of which is enclosed herewith.

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[1] Henry Morgenthau, *United States Diplomacy On The Bosphorus: The Diaries of Ambassador Morgenthau, 1913-1916*, Compiled with an introduction by Ara Sarafian, Gomidas Institute, Princeton and London, 2004, p. 33

[2] For a biography of this individual, see: Rıfat N. Bali, *Devlet'in Yahudileri ve "Öteki" Yahudi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları), 2004, pp. 31-58.

[3] Henry Morgenthau, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

> I felt that I was acting in sympathy and in accord with the well-known policy of the Administration in offering the use of the Embassy for the meeting. The British, Italian, and German Ambassadors, as well as the Belgian and Roumanian Ministers and two members of the Turkish Cabinet, the Minister of Commerce and Agriculture and the Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, and also the Acting Prefect of the city who is the Chief of Police, and the Dragoman of the Grand Vezier, and all the prominent members of the American colony were present. I trust my permitting the use of the Embassy for such purposee will meet with the approval of the Department.
>
> The conditions now existing in Constantinople in connection with the vicious practice above mentioned are reported to be excessively bad, and it is to be hoped that much good will result from the additional impetus and enthusiasm brought about for its repression by the public meeting just held.[1]

Among those present at the meetings were William Alexander Coote, the secretary for the International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, Robert Frew of the Association for the Protection of Young Girls, Italian Ambassador to the Porte Senator Marchese Garroni, Ottoman Minister of Commerce Suleiman El Bustani Efendi, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs Oskan Efendi, as well as the Belgian Minister, the Consul-General of Austria-Hungary, the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Beyoğlu, the district Commander Vasıf Bey, and the Dragoman for the Grand Vizier, Esat Fuad Bey.[2] The local English-language daily, *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, would publish a lengthy and detailed account of the gathering:

> There was a large and representative gathering yesterday at the American Embassy, kindly lent for the occasion by H.E. the American Ambassador, for the meeting organized by the Committee of the Association for the protection of young girls at which Mr. William Alexander Coote, secretary of the International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, delivered a most highly interesting and instructive address.
>
> The Association for the protection of young girls was founded in this city some years ago and has already done very good work.
>
> The Rev. Robert Frew, who took the chair at yesterday's meeting and introduced Mr. Coote, has taken a leading part in this, as in all other good works, and he invited Mr. Coote to come to Constantinople and enlighten those interested in the work on the excellent results that have crowned the efforts of the International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic in other countries. As Mr. Frew said in his opening remarks yesterday, everything possible had been done in this city, and thanks to the valuable assistance given to the Committee by M. Ponafidine, the ex-

[1] NARA, Records Group 59, Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey (1910-1929), document dated March 13, 1914 reference 867.1152.

[2] NARA, Records Group 59, Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey (1910-1929), "Contre la Traite des Blanches", *La Turquie,* March 13, 1914, added to document dated March 13, 1914 reference 867.1152.

Russian Consul-General, several traffickers had left the country while others had been arrested and punished. It was now proposed to make an attempt "to achieve the impossible" and for this reason Mr. Coote, the greatest authority in Europe or, shall we say, the greatest enemy of the white slave trafficker, was invited to come to Constantinople and give his advice.

Mr. Frew read a letter he had received from Prince Said Pasha, the Grand Vizier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, giving expression to the sympathy of the Imperial Government for the humanitarian work undertaken by the Association for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, and assuring him that the Government would do everything in its power to assist the Association in the task it had set itself. In conclusion the Grand Vizier expressed his regret at being prevented by urgent affairs from attending the meeting, at which His Highness was represented by his secretary, Essad Fuad Bey.

Mr. Coote began his address by stating that the meeting was held under peculiarly auspicious circumstances in view of the presence of not only representatives of Foreign Monarchs but also of high officials of the Imperial Government. He also referred to the Grand Vizier's letter which not only expresses the good will of the Government but also makes evident its desire to assist the Association. The question of the suppression of the white slave traffic is of the highest importance from the individual, home and national point of view. It provides a broad platform on which men and women of all nationalities can stand together engaged in a most humanitarian enterprise, but until men are prepared to accept women as co-operators progress will be slow. It is also necessary to gain the favour of public opinion and this can only be attained by securing the support of the Press, which is a great Power for good. The Press is a great leader of the people and with its support many battles can be fought and great things can be accomplished.

The fifth International Congress for the suppression of the white slave traffic was held in London last year and 23 countries were represented. It was noticed that Turkey and Portugal were not represented and he (Mr. Coote) had been commissioned to visit those countries and forge the links required to complete the European chain.

It is only in 1899 that it was felt in England that girls were disappearing in all directions and measures were taken for the protection of young girls. Mr. Coote determined to interest all the European Governments in the work and he first visited Berlin where he was most successful thanks to the support of H.M. the Empress, by whose command an important meeting was held and it was resolved to combat the evil. Mr. Coote visited nearly every European country and everywhere he was well received and committees were formed. He preached the doctrine of the co-operation of men and women with the authorities for the maintenance of order. It is quite possible for everybody to assist the Government without interfering in its work. In 1904 an official conference was called in France and it was decided to deal with the question from an international point of view.

Mr. Coote has not confined his work to Europe. He has been nearly all over the world. One of the worst places for the white slave traffic was Alexandria and the committee formed there achieved great results in a relatively short period. Mr. Coote visited Argentina amongst other countries and there succeeded in interesting a member of Parliament in his cause. This gentleman brought in a drastic Bill which was passed with the

result that within two weeks 2,000 bad men and women left Buenos Ayres. The Bill was based on the methods preached by Mr. Coote.

Mr. Coote's speech was most impressive and moved the audience. Delivered with masterly clearness and self possession, it went to the heart of all present. Mr. Coote is undoubtedly a great orator and he knows how to carry his point to the end. He gave chapter and verse for every allegation made, supporting his contentions with the results of his wide experience and by what had been done in other parts of the world on the single sowing of the seed of this good work. He absolutely dismissed the idea that success was impossible, in the face of what had already been attained, and he spoke of the future of the war against this horrible evil as one which was bound to come to absolute and general success. In his mind nothing was impossible if a small committee of persons took the matter to heart and made up their minds to extirpate this most inhuman of traffics. Before concluding Mr. Coote insisted on the greatness of that Christian principle that we all should do unto others as we wish others to do unto us. He said that, it was perfectly true that in many cases a young girl would go wrong from her own fault, in consequence of parental negligence as even not withstanding parental care and diligence but whatever may be the sad circumstances of a case was not that girl the daughter of another man, like, us? Was she not the sister of another man? Should we not feel and deeply fell for that man, for that brother? If one of us was that father or that brother, would we not wish to see that daughter of ours protected and rescued from perdition. The honour and name of every woman should be sacred to us, as the honour and name of our daughter and of our sister is sacred to us. For, where is the difference between us? Are we not all brothers? Let us therefore take the matter seriously in hand and if we act on these principles success will doubtless be attained and the so-called "impossible" will become a fact – an undeniable fact.

A movement is now set on foot nearly every-where to combat the white slave traffic but there is no hope of anything being achieved in countries were man are not prepared to look upon women's honour as sacred.

Mr. Coote sat down amidst loud applause.

Mr. Morgenthau, after making a few appropriate remarks and mentioning the treatment meted to white slave traffickers in the United States, proposed a vote of thanks for Mr. Coote and moved the following resolution which was unanimously passed.

That this meeting resolves to form an organization entitled "The Constantinople Association for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women".

It also resolves that the Association shall consist of men and women of all nationalities and creeds who sincerely and earnestly desire to assist in the abolition of this nefarious trade which no civilized country should tolerate within its boundaries, and to work on the same lines and in co-operation with the International Bureau in London, the National Committees established in the other Capitals of Europe and the principal cities in the United States of America and in other parts of the world.

It desires to express its appreciation of the hearty co-operation pledged to it by the Imperial Ottoman Government through the letter of His Highness the Grand Vizier read at this meeting, and the presence hereof Their Excellencies Suleiman el Bustani Efendi, Minister of Commerce, Oskan Effendi, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and Bedri Bey, Acting Prefect of the City of Constantinople and Director General of the Police.

The resolution was seconded by Dr. Lewis F. Mizzi.

Sir Louis Mallet, the British Ambassador, also supported the resolution and wished every success to the Committee about to be formed. Baron Wangenheim, the German Ambassador, concurred.

The Chairman then expressed to Mr. Coote the hearty thanks of the meeting and gave the names of the new Committee, some of whom had already accepted, and he expressed the hope that those who had not yet accepted would do so as soon as their election was brought to their knowledge.

The Chairman gave the following names :

The Acting Prefect of the City, His Hon. Judge Cator, the Russian Consul-General, the American Consul-General, the Austro-Hungarian Consul, M. St-Quentin, Secretary of the French Embassy; Dr. Mizzi, Dr. Patrick, President of the American College for Girls; Mr. A Davis of the Y.M.C.A., Dr. Auerbach, Fuad Bey, representing the Grand Vizier; Samuel Bey.

His Excellency El Bustani Effendi, Minister of Commerce, said that Mr. Coote's visit to Constantinople would undoubtedly give a new impulse to the work undertaken by the local Committee which he thanked in the name of the Imperial Government for the services it renders in Costantinople.

We notice amongst those present H.E. Suleiman El Bustani Effendi, Minister of Commerce; H.E. Oskan Effendi, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs; Essad Fuad Bey, representing the Grand Vizier; Bedri Bey, Chief of Police and acting Prefect of the City; Their Excellencies the British Ambassador, the German Ambassador and Baroness von Wangenheim; the Italian Ambassador, the Rumanian and Belgian Ministers; Mme de Willebois, Lady Crawford, Mgr. Knitis, Greek Bishop of Pera; l'abbé Delbeque, Rabbi Dr. Marcus, Judge and Mrs. Cator; M. de St-Quentin, M. Mertens, German Consul-General; Mr. Ravndal, American Consul-General; M. Dimaras, Greek Consul-General; Mrs. Bowen, M. Csurcsin, Austro-Hungarian Consul; M. Shebounine, Russian Consul-General; Dr. Schepotieff, Mme Zarifi, Mme Stelitza, Dr. Mills Patrick, Sir Edwin Pears, Sir Henry and Lady Woods, Mr. Ryan, Dr. Grünwald, Mr. Werndel, Mr. Peet, Mr. Berghaus, Samuel Bey, Dr. Auerbach, Dr. Sandler, Dr. Bujes, Dr. and Mrs. Mizzi; Mr. Charnaud, M. Isaac Fernandez, M. Bihs, Mme Pandermaly, Mr. and Mrs. Hamson, Mr. Davis, Mr. Van Boomel, Mr. Karagheusian, Mr, and Mrs. Matteosian.

We regret being unable to give a complete list of those present at yesterday's meeting at which the American colony was well represented. [1]

The main impetus behind this effort was provided by Ambassador Morgenthau, although Ottoman Finance Minister Reşad Pasha would serve as the committee chairman. One of the two other committee member was Samuel [Israel] Bey, a Jewish officer at the Constantinople Police Directorate. Grand Rabbi Haim Nahum Efendi was among the committee's 'honorary' chairmen. The Jewish members of the executive committee [of the aforementioned association] included Ambassador Morgenthau and his wife, Chief Rabbi of the Constantinople Ashkenazi Community Dr. David Markus, the local *Hilfsverein* representative Dr. Israel Auerbach and a certain,

[1] "White Slave Traffic", *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, April 24, 1914.

unfortunately named Madam Fucks. Serving along side them on the committee were Dr. Stchepotiew, Chief Physician at the Russian Hospital, Graf von Luttichau, chaplain of the German Embassy, the attorney Mizzi, and the Russian and Austrian Consuls-General.[1] Little immediate progress was made in the wake of this gathering, as Morgenthau would chronicle in his journal:

> March 15, Sunday:
> Samuel Bey came as we were leaving. We took him in the car with us and he told us of his discovery that there are 600 traffickers, 200 having just returned from Buenos Aires. A man Michael is the head and the President of a Synagogue in Galata which has 44 members. Samuel thinks he can round them all up and arrest them for vagrancy in one or two days. He will arrest them at noon when he can have plenty of police. Bihs called in the afternoon about his discoveries and informed me of by-laws. Frew wants to remain President.
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> March 16, Monday:
> 10:00 a.m. Meeting of the Committee on the White Slave Trade. Mr. and Miss Dodge were also here. It was a large attendance: four Consul Generals and three representative of the Turkish government. I had two separate meetings of laymen in Salon Bleu and of consuls and Turks in the other room. The latter agreed upon a plan to photograph and thumb-print them and export some. The others agreed on organizing.
>
> March 21, Saturday:
> Committee of White Slave met and passed Constitution and bylaws.
>
> May 1, Friday:
> The White Slave Traffic Committee has made little progress.
>
> May 5, Tuesday:
> Auerbach came with S. Cohen, Secretary of the [Jewish] Association for Protection of Girls.
>
> May 11, Monday:
> Mr. Cohen, Secretary of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women (59 Mansell Street, Aldgate, London) called. He reported about his investigation and willingness to have his organization contribute 50 pounds annually to ours. He approves my plan to engage an executive secretary. He told me of Bihs' opposition and Coots' claim to have done it all.
>
> May 14, Thursday:
> Mr. S. Cohen, Secretary of the Jewish Association for Girls, and Rev. Sayre called. The Russian Consul General called, said he had saved four girls, but as there is no home here, he sends them to the Russian hospital. He can not keep them there long enough to convict offenders. He urges a

[1] S. Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

home and wants the police to help to scare traffickers. Sami Bey, President of the Municipal Council called. Samuel Bey called. He had missed his boat.

June 4, Thursday:
We had a White Slave Committee meeting. I had an interview with Graf Luttichow and Auerbach before the meeting. Luttichow wanted to know about retaining Miss Hushberg. I opposed it and also opposed Auerbach about a Hamburg friend of his for a secretary. He told me about a Russian girl to be saved who spoke to one of his teachers at the post Office. After the meeting Samuel Bey came in and they spoke of Hardy and Graviner as possible secretaries.[1]

The Intervention of Police Chief Osman Bedri Bey and the Expulsion of the White Slavers

The traditional disinterest of the Ottoman authorities in curbing prostitution, a situation that essentially allowed it to function free of excessive restraint until the First World War, would suddenly change in 1915. Equipped with the near-dictatorial powers that he was given over Constantinople's public life with the empire's entry into the war, Police Chief Osman Bedri Bey would act swiftly and decisively to put an end to the city's white slave trade, arresting its perpetrators and deporting them.[2] In this effort he was assisted by the Constantinople lodge of *B'nai B'rith*, which provided Bedri Bey with the necessary information on such persons.[3] Again, Ambassador Morgenthau's diary is one of the best sources for these events:

January 16, Saturday:
Bedri came for tea to discuss the White Slavers' arrest. He claims someone in the Russian consulate assisted them. He is prepared to expel them all. I told him of the men who were running [trafficking from a] synagogue. He told us of their attitude towards English and French Jews whom they wanted to retain.

January 21, Thursday:
Nahoum called and told me about White Slave matter, Bedri having seized the synagogue and found 14 bedrooms which had been misused. They intend seizing [Michael] Pasha's property.

February 1, Monday:
At 9:00 Bedri called. Henry Junior, Judson and I went through the Galata slums with him and a police escort. It was a sad sight and I am glad he is destroying the White Slave trade. We met a German in one of the places, and after showing us his passport, he asked if he could stay a little longer.

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[1] Henry Morgenthau, *op. cit.*, p. 35-36, 53, 55-57, 64.
[2] Edward J.Bristow, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 279.

> April 29, Thursday:
> [Dr. Victor] Jacobson and [Richard] Lichtheim [representative of *Die Welt* and World Zionist Organization] called. Made a full report about White Slave traffic. To my surprise they informed me that only Jewish traffickers had been expelled and that the Christian traffickers were still doing business. [1]

An examination of the professed trades of the 168 expelled white slavers shows the interesting result that some twenty percent were actually male tailors, thereby showing that the statement found in a study by one historian of the conditions of female dressmakers at the turn of the century that "some tailor shops, in promoting their business, would also enter into prostitution" was at least valid for some of the Ashkenazi men engaged in this trade.[2] In a report sent by Ambassador Morgenthau to the U.S. Secretary of State, he mentioned this phenomenon:

> In answer to the Department's Instructions No. 15 of February 8th, I have the honor to report as follows about the recent arrests of persons engaged in the "white slave traffic" in Constantinople:
>
> The Department of Labor is probably aware of the fact that Constantinople has served as one of the world centers for white slave traffic for several decades; that up till about fifteen years ago, this line was principally occupied by Austrians; that most of this traffic has of recent years fallen into the hands of Russians; that the "traders" in this city have their principal foreign relations with Egypt, Argentina, and Brazil; that their principal sources of supply are Galicia, Roumania, and Southern Russia; that they have a regularly organized system of sending procurers into certain districts of the countries mentioned to keep up the supply of fresh "white slaves"; that they resort to the usual tricks of false marriages, promises of marriage, offers to find husbands, offers to find high paying positions, promises to find some long lost relative, and promises to find work in the Holy Land in order to persuade prospective victims to accompany the procurers; that on their arrival here they are forced into lives of prostitution by starvation and beating if persuasion or other gentler means do not succeed; that I had the honor of being the leader of the big movement here last year which finally resulted in the formation of an International Committee for the suppression of the White Slave Traffic in Constantinople.
>
> The ordinary means of fighting the great social evil were being used to good effect, when the present war unfortunately prevented the effective continuation of that work, and, at the same time, by the great misery prevailing among the poor in the countries from which the supply of girls had been coming, facilitated the work of the white slave traders. Early in January, H.E. Osman Bedri Bey, Prefect of Police, resolved to take energetic steps for the suppression of white slave traffic in this city. He took advantage of the peculiar state of affairs that had made him the Law,

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1 Henry Morgenthau, *op. cit.*, p. 166-167, 169, 175, 219.

2 Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Osmanlı Hanımları ve Kadın Terzileri-I (1869-1923)", *Tarih ve Toplum*, April 2003, No. 232, pp. 11-19,13.

personified, and profiting by the knowledge and experience of public spirited men who have been watching the situation closely, eagerly waiting an opportunity to find the means of stopping this curse, once for all, stepped boldly in and scoured the city. A few succeeded in flying the country; he is rid of them. Most were arrested and after enduring the hardships of crowded prisons from periods ranging from a few days to a few weeks, were expelled from the city. Ottoman subjects were exiled to various points in the interior, while foreigners were deported.

The "gang" masked its operations under cover of a fake synagogue. The president and sexton of the so-called synagogue are two of the leading members of the gang. Their names are Michael Moses Salamovitz alias Michel Pacha, and Juda Jakob Melamef, alias Pil. There was also found in active operation a white slave exchange of which the chief, David Felken is one of the most notorious and possibly the most capable of the entire group of those who had been working in this city. Their administration was organized as follows:

President, David Felken, Argentine citizen; treasurer, Perto Ekstein, Russian; members of the administrative board, Margolis Ganal, Russian, Marco Likman, Russian, Berko Ekstein, Russian, and Herman Berok, Russian. Procurors known to have been employed by this exchange are David Goldenburg, Israel Goldenburg, Dina Coshter, and one Yanko. They also had several special agents to aid in landing at Constantinople of new "importations". Two of these are Joseph Germanoff and Nathan Ishar, both Roumanian subjects.

Photographs were taken by the police of most of the people arrested but a few, and most of these the more important ones, managed to slip by without being photographed. I have the honor to enclose herewith a single set of photographs together with a list, in triplicate, giving such information as is available with regard to each of these persons.[1] Names of the more notorious ones have been capitalized. Unfortunately, the records are by no means complete and such information as is herewith presented had to be transcribed from diverse Turkish records which in themselves could not accurately record information about European names. It is to be noted also that many of these were unknown to the police and are here recorded with such names, ages, and nationalities as they chose to declare. There were, however, made and preserved copies of the fingerprints of each person, and these can be made available by referring to the numbers on each photograph. I shall be pleased to secure any further special indications which may be desired by the Department of Commerce.

The Director of Police of the city of Constantinople, His Excellency Osman Bedri Bey, and his staff have taken a good deal of trouble to assist an official of this Embassy in securing the information herewith presented, and have very courteously furnished us with the photographs. An expression of thanks to them from the Department of Commerce would facilitate the task of this embassy in securing future favors. [2]

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[1] The said list is in pp. 58-61.

[2] NARA, Records Group 59, Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey (1910-1929), document dated March 24, 1915 reference 867.1152/3.

The following is a breakdown by nationality of the total number of 168 white slavers arrested and deported:

Russian	:	100
Romanian	:	23
Austrian	:	10
Ottoman	:	18
Greek	:	5
Persian	:	1
British	:	4
Italian	:	3
Brazilian	:	1
French	:	1
Argentine	:	2

In the memoirs of Ahmet Kemâl Üçok, a civilian employee of the Turkish Armed Forces, the author claims that Osman Bedri Bey's efforts were viewed favorably by the Americans. "I got to know Bedri Bey well", he writes; "he grew up under the patronage of [Criminal Court President] Hilmi Bey. He was a jolly, witty and very clever individual".[1] Üçok also recounts a conversation that he had with the police chief:

> One day at the beginning of 1917, I went to see the late Istanbul Police Chief Bedri Bey, to whom I said the following things, although I don't [now] remember in connection to what:
>
> - Three days ago, I was sitting at the coffee house across from the Greek Consulate, a tough-looking Armenian was sitting at the next table over, and after a short while an individual of about 17 or 18 years of age came over and sat down. He was very snappily dressed, with a diamond ring on every finger, a diamond tie clip, and a gold watch and chain. His group gambled over a few lira, and then left. I turned to the Armenian next to me and asked him, which one of the bankers was this kid the son of. 'That's no banker's kid', the fellow told me. 'That bunch was a crowd that would always go around dressed to the nines, and toward evening they would smooth talk with the servant girls who would push around little children with strollers in Taksim Park, meaning that, after eating up these girls' trousseau and destroying their virtue and moral capital, they would bring them to one of the brothels and sell them to it. Some of that money that they received they would give to us through gambling', he said.
>
> As soon as I had finished this story, the late Bedri said that a [white slaving] network had be established in every corner of the world, and that these women smugglers were earning a great deal of money by bringing Russian girls to Egypt, for instance, French girls to Brazil, Greeks to Istanbul, and then asked for my assistance, saying that the police of the world were unable to even get a lead as to the identity of these persons.

[1] Ahmet Kemâl Üçok, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

> He attached a civilian plainclothes detective to my service, and we got together the following day at 3:00 p.m. A short while later the snappily dressed young man arrived and gambled with the Armenian. I pointed him out to the plainclothesman as he left.
>
> Two or three weeks later I ran into Bedri. He smiled upon seeing me and produced a paper from his desk. "This is a letter of gratitude from our enemies, the American government who has sent it via an intermediary, They greatly applaud the Turkish police for revealing those perpetrating this illegal trade after the world police was unable to discover their identities, and I thank you, too", he said.[1]

Although most of the white slave traders were deported from Constantinople in 1915, the prostitution market did not come to a standstill. In 1921 the Prostitution Prevention Society (*Men-i Fuhuş Cemiyeti*) was established under the joint action of all the ambassadors residing in Constantinople and the political representatives of the Allied Forces. The society was presided by Ms. Elizabeth Huntington, the spouse of George Huntington, President of Robert College. The Society was planning to be active specially in the Pera area, intended to prevent young girls and women of practising prostitution, to close down the houses where these activities were done and send the women to reformatories.[2]

Conclusion

The important place of the Jews in Constantinople's sex trade gave rise to the impression that Jews had a monopoly on white slavery, an impression that made the city's Jewish bourgeoisie extremely uncomfortable. Because of the Ashkenazi character of most of those engaged in the prostitution trade, the phenomenon also gave rise to the phenomenon of increasing tension and hostility between the Ashkenazi and Sephardic communities, both in Constantinople and elsewhere, with the latter looking at their European correligionists with an increasingly disparaging eye. One of the clear indications of this was the appearance of the slang term 'lehlia', in Ladino (from the Turkish *lehli kadın*, meaning Polish woman) to denote a 'prostitute' or 'woman of loose morals'.[3]

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[1] Ahmet Kemâl Üçok, *op. cit.*, pp. 417-418.

[2] Mehmet Temel, *ibid*, p. 268-269.

[3] Joseph Néhama, *Dictionnaire du Judéo-Espagnol*, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas), 1977, p. 325 / Dr. Elli Kohen and Dahlia Kohen-Gordon, *Ladino-English / English-Ladino Concise Encyclopedic Dictionary (Judeo-Spanish)*, (New York: Hippocrene Books), 2000, p. 230.

This foreign-run (and largely Jewish) prostitution trade that began in Constantinople in the mid-1800s would eventually become one of the characteristics for which the city would become well-known. When discussing Galata, for instance, the American writer Ernest Hemingway, who worked as a reporter for *The Toronto Daily Star* in the early 1920s, spoke about the district's well-known reputation for prostitution in the following manner:

> Galata, half-way up the hill from the port, has a district that is more unspeakably horrible than the foulest heydey of the old Barbary Coast. It festers there, trapping the soldiers and sailors of all the allies and of all nations.[1]

The problem of the various Jewish white slavers and the brothels that they ran would develop and spread even further in the wake of the refugee problems caused by the various wars of the first quarter of the 20th century, and in the process brought great distress and displeasure to the city's native Jewish population. While prostitution continues today in a highly regulated and restricted form in specific areas of Galata, the role of Jews in this trade would come to an abrupt end in 1930, after which one would be hard pressed to find any Jews involved in the trade. The reason was that the refugee population in Turkey was reduced thru resettlement. In fact in 1930 the B'nai B'rith Lodge of Istanbul would report "the total elimination of the brothels and of the traffickers."[2]

LIST OF DEPORTED WHITE SLAVE TRADERS

Number	Name	Age	Nationality	Profession	Remarks Deported
9-820	Yankel Yankoff	28	Russian	Pimp	January 18
9-821	Vitali Moses	47	do	Cook / Pimp	
9-822	Mendel Schmiel Yogoh	44	do	Painter / Pimp	January 18
9-823	Aaron Yozhof	28	do	Pimp	Do
9-824	Moses Yancof	38	do	Pimp / Shoemaker	Do
9-825	Benjamin Ishmilif	28	do	Pimp	Do
9-827	David David	31	do	Pianist/Pimp	Do
9-828	Levy Ishmail	40	do	Pimp	Do
9-829	Joseph Ofashi	26	do	Barber / Pimp	
9-831	Etshik Riven	29	do	Barber / Pimp	January 18
9-832	Wolf Zelman	38	do	Pimp	Do
9-833	Avram Schloimann	34	do	Pimp	
9-834	Aaron Shimshon	25	do	Painter / Pimp	January 18
9-835	David Colik	33	do	Pimp	Do
9-836	Yankel Militsh	27	do	Painter / Pimp	Do

[1] William White (Ed.), *By-Line: Ernest Hemingway,* (London: Collins), 1968, pp. 75-76.
[2] Edward J. Bristow, *op. cit.* pp. 320-321.

Number	Name	Age	Nationality	Profession	Remarks Deported
9-838	Joseph Juda Berg	28	do	Tailor / Pimp	Do
9-837	Simon Haim	32	do	Pimp	Do
9-840	Aaron Moses	30	do	Butcher / Pimp	Do
9-841	Arshmendil Beghil	37	do	Painter / Pimp	Do
9-842	Aaron Gursh	27	do	Dry Goods / Pimp	Do
9-843	Moses Harsch	35	do	Pimp	
9-844	David Nohim	27	do	Waiter / Pimp	January 18
9-845	Lazari Daniel	38	do	Dry Goods / Pimp	Do
9-846	Isaac Itsek	30	do	Barber / Pimp	Do
9-847	Nohem Izkoff	33	do	Pimp	Do
9-848	Elik Schaber Kelenberg	29	do	Pimp	Do
9-849	Befil Lazar alias Beron Lazar	22	do	Servant / Pimp	Do
9-850	Colok Moses	26	do	Tailor / Pimp	
9-851	Aaron Kirsch Novitsh	25	do	Tailor / Pimp	January 18
9-852	Bension Wolf	30	do	Tailor / Pimp	Do
9-853	Abraham Pinhas	37	do	Pimp	Do
9-854	Salomon Israel	38	do	Pimp	Do
9-855	Meyer Kilmo	67	do	Pimp	
9-856	Meyer Abraham	34	do	Pimp	
9-857	Lieb Michael	32	do	Butcher / Pimp	January 18
9-858	Honeh Shinon	37	do	Tailor / Pimp	Do
9-859	Ezik Sholem	27	do	Barber / Pimp	Do
9-860	Moroh Etshin	37	do	Pimp	
9-861	Joseph Jacob	32	do	Pimp	January 18
9-862	Zira Joseph Marios	37	do	Pimp	Do
9-863	Joseph Haim	30	do	Tailor	Do
9-864	Ishiel Haim Israel	34	do	Carpenter	Do
9-865	Moses Yankel	34	do	Pimp	Do
9-866	Joseph Bension	28	do	Shoemaker / Pimp	Do
9-867	Wolf Michelieb Zageb	38	do	Tailor / Pimp	Do
9-868	Aaron Abraham	48	do	Clothier / Pimp	Released
9-869	Abraham Potka	26	do	Pimp	January 18
9-870	Mendil Meyer Hirsch	39	do	Shoemaker / Pimp	
9-871	Ishmael Michael	30	do		January 18
9-872	Petraki Dimitri Dimistose	32	Roumanian	Waiter / Pimp	
9-879	Sholem Berk	38	Russian	Barber / Pimp	January 18
9-880	Lieb Abraham	29	do	Pimp	
9-881	Aron Brohi Nahman	42	do	----	
9-882	Avram Avram	34	do	Photographer / Pimp	January 18
9-883	Avram Ayzik	31	do	Tailor / Pimp	January 29
9-884	Naphtali Arshik	30	do	Painter / Pimp	
9-885	Yankel Erich	28	do	Shoemaker / Pimp	January 18
9-886	Aaron Abraham Mayer	26	do	Tailor / Pimp	Do
9-887	Moses David Lieb	28	do	Barber	
9-888	Benjamin Davidoff	31	do	Tailor / Pimp	
9-889	Hirsch Ezik	34	do	Barman / Pimp	January 18
9-890	Yankel Gavril Giolchman	36	do	Tailor / Pimp	Do
9-891	Saya Osher	27	do	Tailor / Pimp	
9-892	Yankel Yankel	48	do	Tailor / Pimp	
9-893	Simha Sirlomof	30	do	Butcher/Pimp	
9-899	Leib Mosch Schom	52	Ottoman	Disorderly Hotel Keeper	Exiled to Sivas January 31
9-900	Haim Adolph Kalman	24	Roumanian	Painter	Deported January 18

Number	Name	Age	Nationality	Profession	Remarks Deported
9-901	Moses Hanas Natel	29	do	Peddler/ Pimp	Do
9-902	Seroul Ezik Katz	32	do	Peddler/ Pimp	
9-903	Moses Fereen	35	do	Tailor / Pimp	January 18
9-903	Nishan Garabed	54	Russian	Disorderly Hotel Keeper	Do
9-905	Esposito Raffaeledi Leopoldi	30	Italian	Mason / Pimp	Do
9-906	Marco Mendel	57	Austrian	White Slaver	Do
9-907	Jacob Bernard	35	do	Go-between for brothels	Do
9-915	Marco Solomon Glazer	40	Ottoman	Saloon Keeper	Exiled to Sivas January 31 Deported
9-916	Albert Mendel Iser Wolf	27	Russian	Candyman / Pimp	
9-917	Moses Avram	33	do	Painter / Pimp	January 18
9-918	Moses Aaron Hirsch	34	do	Cafedji / Pimp	Do
9-919	Haim Hirsch Filman	38	Roumanian	Tailor / Pimp	Do
9-920	Yeshek Renlik	30	Russian	Butcher / Pimp	
9-921	Boyty alias Albert David	35	Roumanian	Blacksmith / Pimp	
9-922	Giovanni Lorenzo Norago	27	English	Cafedji / Pimp	January 18
9-923	Joseph Oishik	29	Russian	Blacksmith / Pimp	Do
9-924	Nohim Benjamin	31	do	Musician / Pimp	January 18
9-925	Iniah alias Isaac Moses	37	do	Shoemaker / Pimp	January 18
9-930	Victor Penhas	51	do	Cook / Pimp	Do
9-931	Ganzlir Oishess	33	Roumanian	Photographer / Pimp	Do
9-932	Herlosir Yankeh	42	English	Painter / Pimp	Do
9-933	Jacob Leib	39	Russian	Saloon keeper / Pimp	Do
9-934	Israel Lieb Sholem Avram Kraveski	35	do	Butcher / Pimp	Do
9-935	Abraham Lazari Yamberg	32	Ottoman	Saloon keeper / Pimp	Exiled to Sivas January 31
9-936	Jack Libo Lemberg	25	Roumanian	Painter / Pimp	February 3
9-937	Michael Schmiel	31	Russian	Painter / Pimp	January 18
9-938	Ilia Haim Gravetz alias Ilia Nohem Franz	29	do	Interpreter / Pimp	Do
9-939	Mordechai Mendel	24	do		
9-940	Leon Meyer Berman	38	English	Servant	January 18
9-941	Isaac Felrik alias Bertrah	24	Russian		
9-942	Moses Rahmil Sokleman	24	Russian	Jeweler	January 18
9-943	David Obadiah Benderly	28	Ottoman	Painter	Exiled to Sivas January 31
9-944	Eleaza Reuben Grunberg	30	Russian	Peddler	
9-945	Wolf Haim Postel	47	Austrian		Deported January 18
9-946	Joseph Yankel Podgof	35	Russian	Taylor	Do
9-947	Reuben Lupo	31	Roumanian	Coffee-seller	Do
9-948	JOSEPH MAYER BOTCHMAN	55	RUSSIAN	COLLECTION AGENT	Do
9-949	Abraham Benjamin	38	Russian	Painter	Do
9-950	Moses Grunburg	38	Roumanian	Shoemaker	Do

Number	Name	Age	Nationality	Profession	Remarks Deported
9-951	Israel Lieb Sholem	38	Russian	Shoemaker	Do
9-952	Iso Mandel alias Wolf Kahn	32	Ottoman	Tailor	
9-969	BERTHA HAIMTOV	44	AUSTRIAN	BROTHEL KEEPER AND TRADER	
9-970	Victoria Aaron	45	Ottoman	Brothel keeper	Exiled to Cesarea January 31
10-58	Solomon Israel Amiras	33	Greek	Machinist	
10-59	Joseph Ovadiah	25	Ottoman	Tailor	
10-60	Daniel Haim	26	Greek	Pimp	
10-67	Madeleine Clayville alias Elisabeth Hoshkoff		French	Brothel keeper	Deported January 31
10-69	Lila Mendel Kockbart alias Esther	29	Russian	Brothel keeper	January 29
10-71	Abraham Boshokat	28	Greek	Tailor	
10-73	ESTHER AARON ZAIDMANN ZOKOFOMATESSIO	48	BRAZILIAN	BROTHEL KEEPER	January 29
10-79	John Joseph	23	Persian	Employee of Stark	(see following name)
10-80	JOSEPH ISRAEL STARK	48	Austrian	WHITE SLAVER	January 31
10-83	Hashe Serhi alias Maroshka	22	Russian	Brothel keeper	January 29
10-121	Thanas Anton Tchalas	46	Greek	Disorderly hotel keeper	January 29
10-122	Pevel Zesso alias Joseph Schnaber	32	Russian	Wrestler	January 29
10-123	Nathan Ispanis alias Foti	55	Austrian	Tourist Guide	
10-124	Moses Zelman	36	Russian	Theater proprietor	
10-125	Yanko Wilderman	43	Roumanian	Procurer	January 29
10-126	Zissi Zeroro Kelboch	35	Austrian	Wrestler	
10-127	David Aaron Goldenshloib	27	Russian	Hatter	January 29
10-129	Abraham Versa Ishmil alias Abraham Samuel	29	Russian	Peddler	January 29
10-131	Aaron Nahman alias Bako	50	Russian	Notion dealer	
10-132	Victor Joseph Choklan	22	Russian	Tailor	January 29
10-133	Libo Cavish alias Harris	51	Roumanian	Cafedji	January 29
10-134	Haim Isaac	23	Russian	Barber	Do
10-135	Zellich Ketsi Cabel	57	Austrian	Liquor dealer	
10-136	MICHAEL MOSES SALAMOVITZ ALIAS MICHEL PASHA	63	Ottoman		January 29
10-138	Ishmael Berkov Kisman	29	Russian	Wrestler	Do
10-151	Alexander Paul Cotchkoff	27	Russian	Wrestler	January 31
10-172	Mehmed Ali Hassan	40	Ottoman	Russian Consular Guard	January 29
10-181	Asher Grunberg alias Jack Friedman	33	Roumanian	Shoemaker	January 3

Number	Name	Age	Nationality	Profession	Remarks Deported
10-182	MosesIsrael Gutman	63	Ottoman	Pimp	
10-183	Adolph Alezander Ganton	39	Roumanian	Actor	February 3
10-189	Rosa alias Yasse Peyker	23	Russian	Brothel keeper	February 4
10-190	Amelia Jean Kristico	29	Roumanian	Brothel keeper	February 4
10-196	David Moses Salimkoff	35	Ottoman	Cafedji	
10-197	Nahoum Azrak alias Abraham Luca	33	Ottoman	Money Broker	
10-198	Jeannette Joseph alias Pashter alias Ame	25	Roumanian		
10-199	DAVID FELKEN		ARGENTINIAN	WHITE SLAVER	January 18
10-200	LORA FELKEN		ARGENTINIAN	WHITE SLAVER	January 18
10-201	ARTASTINA ALIAS ARTMASTINA ALIAS AGOSTINA	43	ROUMANIAN	BROTHEL KEEPER	January 31
10-202	ESTHER HAIM DICK	38	ROUMANIAN	BROTHEL KEEPER	
10-203	BASSI BROKSCHOVATZ	44	OTTOMAN	BROTHEL KEEPER	
10-204	LIZA ISRAEL HALKON		OTTOMAN	BROTHEL KEEPER	
10-215	Sally Ershi Wolff	40	Ottoman	Brothel Keeper	
10-216	Adolph Hirsh alias Atsa Kelbert	42	Austrian	Dry Goods	
10-229	Manol Joseph alias Shukri alias Marino alias Malo Petrovitch	42	English	Pimp	February 11
10-213	JUDA JACOB MEHMED ALIAS PIL	51	RUSSIAN	SEXTON	January 31
10-248	Simon Solomon Friedman	22	Roumanian		
10-271	Michael Moses Novak alias Milak	50	Russian	Baker	
10-272	Liba Yankovitch alias Liza Leib	26	Roumanian	Brothel Keeper	February 11
10-287	Constantin Tito Griforsco	22	Roumanian	Pimp	February 11
10-450	Anton Yanni Hardovelli	26	Greek	Pimp	
10-453	Gerdina Gaetano di Giuseppe	31	Italian	Mason	
10-454	Carlo Philip Lassala	27	Italian	Mason	
10-581	Hadji Miriam Sarkis	26	Ottoman		
10-585	Haikazar Manook	26	Ottoman	Law clerk	
10-630	Gotha Alter	39	Austrian	Brothel keeper	
10-734	Ihsan		OTTOMAN	Sent a girl named Clara to America about a year ago	
5-583	Mayer David Gaster	30	Russian	Pimp	
9-826	Moses Etchik	26	Russian	Barber / Pimp	Deported Jan. 18

MICHEL SALOMONOVICH

CHEF DES MARCHANDS D'ESCLAVES ET

AGENT DE LA POLICE SECRÈTE

À

CONSTANTINOPLE.

Edité par ALBERT ETTIGES.

Zürich, - Suisse.

1901

UN CRIS AU SECOURS DE CONSTANTINOPLE

Aprés avoir reflechi longtemps et aprés qu'on avait essayé vainement à plusieures reprises de faire des demarches nécessaires auprès les autorités respectives contre les négociants d'esclaves juifes à Constantinople et les propriétaires des bordels dans la méme ville, je m'ai décidé de publier cet article pour obliger les autorités par la force de l'opinion publique d'entrevenir enfin pour supprimer ce métier infame.

Par le Gouvernement turque des bordels avec des femmes muselmanes étant defendues les affaires de ces infames négociant d'esclaves juives fleurissent tant mieux à Constantinople, même dans les rues principales. Des agents persuadent par des promesses de bons employs comme gouvernante, femme de chambre, cuisiniere etc. des jeunes filles, dans des petites villes et vilages de l'Autriche-Hongrie, Suisse, Allemagne, France, Roumanie, etc! de venir à Constantinople et ils les accompagnent même ou on les envoie là bas où les filles seront reçues à la gare ou à la station des bateaux par des autres maquereaux, qui se presentent sous une forme et mine respectable et qui les accompagnent dans les bordels respectives,

De ce moment leur sort malheureux est assuré et très rarement une de ces pauvres filles à la chance d'echapper de ces maisons infames et aux griffes de ces rouffians.

Après avoir compris de quoi il s'agit et que c'est qu'on demande d'elles le plus-part des filles essayent de quitter ces maisons, mais vainement parceque les propriétaires des bordels leurs enlèvent immédiatement les passeports àfin qu'a l'occasion d'une fuite eventuelle, ces filles se trouvent privées de toute légitimation.

En outre on confisque leurs costumes habituels et on les oblige de porter des costumes plus luxurieuses sous le pretexte, que leurs costumes qu'il avaient apporté ne soient pas dignes de leure nouvelle fonction. La pauvre paysanne au commencement encharmée de toutes ces belles choses quelle n'a jamais vu auparavant dans son village ne resiste pas, et quand elle commance à comprendre de quoi il s'agit, il est trop tard et sans habillements ni linge habituelles elle se trouve dans les mains de la maîtresse du bordel.

On essaye au commencement par de caresses, promesses, des paroles suaves, et en faisant voir l'exemple des autres filles déjà prostituées de persuader la pauvre fille de s'abandonner aussi; mais en cas de refus on use des

moyens les plus rafinés de compre leur resistance. On les fait griser, on leurs applique des boissons narcotiques très fortes pour profiter par force de leur état momentan et pour les delivrer aux mains des roués infames et ignobles.

Si on n'arrive pas de cette manière de les sousmettre alors on use de la force.

On enferme la pauvre fille dans une chambre cachée et on les prive de la nourriture habituelle, on la batte et maltraite de la manière la plus cruelle jusqu'à la malheureuse, le mort au cœur, accepte tout cela que demandent ses maltraiteurs-géoliers.

Qu'on entendât les cris de ces pauvres êtres frappées par les courbatches de ces maudites maqueraux juives et obligées de prostituer leur corps au plaisir des gens ignobles orientaux. C'est triste de penser au sort de ces jeunes filles, au plus-part chrétiennes qui sont exploitées de la manière la plus infame par ces sangsues juives.

Et qu'est ce que font nos Consulats Européens pour supprimer ces maisons d'esclavage ? Rien au presque rien !

Pour ce motif je veux obliger par ces lignes les autorités publiques de faire des demarches contre ces maqueraux en publiant devant tout je monde les noms de ces marchands de la chaire humaine les plus remarquables :

Le plus fameux de toute cette bande et sa chef est un certain *Michel Salomonovich* qui tient en compagnie de son beaufrère et de la femme de celui-ci 5 bordels à Galata et Pera, dans les quelles plus que 100 filles chrétiennes soufirent dans l'esclavage la plus infame. Cette canaille a ramassé une fortune de plus que 50,000 £ par son métier infame. Il se presente comme agent sécret du ministre de la police et il tient toute une bande de brigands italiens sans ses ordres, qui le debarassent par un coup de couteau de toute la personne qui menace de la gêner dans son metier. Pour se convaincre de la verité de ces indications. Il est à propos des autorités de fouiller dans les registres du ministère de la police et on trouvera que à l'ordre de Nassim Pacha, Ministre de la police, il-y-a 4 $^{1}/_{2}$ années passées toute une bande de ces brigands à été arrêtée et expulsée et Michel Salomonovich arrêté. Ce maquerau et une partie de la police secrête turque sont tellement d'accord, qu'il est presque impossible de porter une plainte contre cet espèce d'esclavage auprès la police on risque de recevoir un coup de couteau à la rue ou de voir sa maison une proie des flammes ; la police à même exilé des personnes qui l'ont genés par leurs plaintes. Tout célà on a vû déjà ici à Constantinople.

La corruption de la police secrête est dirigée et exécutée par Michel Salomonovich, qui est le chef de tous les marqueraux et qui a une influence directe sur la police turque en se présentant comme agent sécret du ministre de la police. Lui sert un certain Mufetich Hadgi Saleh Bey comme intermédiaire pour faire passer des sommes extorquées dans les mains du ministre de la police pour s'assurer de sa protection.

Salomonovich blague tout en public de pouvoir corrompre tous les consulats, et en effet il reussit tres bien. Le plupart de tous les drogmans et sousemployés des consulats prend de bachshich de lui et lui sont tout à fait dévouès. Si une des pauvres filles reussit d'echapper d'une de ces maisons et de venir au consulat pour apporter sa plainte, on la traite en vagabonde et on la renvoie d'où elle est venue cela veut dire qu'on la delivre à son tyran. L'organisation bureaucratique de nos Consulats met ces pauvres femmes hors d'état de pouvoir presenter leurs plaintes à un secrétaire au consul même ; les subalternes ramassent avec plaisir les Livres de bachschich. Michel Salomonovich, né a Constantinople comme sujet ottoman, fils d'un maquereau, avait aquit par corruption la protection allemande ; mais après que le Consulat allemand l'avait puni de 2 ans de prison pour esclavage il-y-a 18 ans passés il a perdu cette protection et devenait protégé italien. Mais quand le Consulat italien avait appris son metier infame, il l'a renvoyé aussi, et aujourd'hui il est de nouveau sujet Ottoman.

Le beaufrère de Michel Salomonovich est un certain *Jankel Ohrbach*, qui a été expulsé de l'Amerique de Sud pour esclavage et vol ; auparavant sujet ottoman il est devenu protégé espagnol et sous la protection du drogman espagnol il continue le metier infame.

Il tient un bordel à Adassukak No 3. Il-y-a quelques mois il a apporté 6 jeunes filles de la Suisse, et le consulat français a reussi de sauver une, mais 5 pauvres filles restaient dans les griffes de ce saugsue juive. Comment célà était possible ? Naturellement par le bachschich toutpuissant.

En 1892 il n'est pas reculé d'empoisoner à Buenos Ayres même sa propre femme et a l'aide de bachschich il s'est sauvé. Quand à cela le magistrat de Buenos Ayres sera en état de fournir les renseignements nécessaires.

Alors des charactères pareilles tiennent ces êtres malheureuses dans leurs griffes, et on peut bien immaginer leur sort.

Moritz Bergmann, auparavant sujet autrichien abandonnait cette protection pour devenir sujet ottoman, ce que facilitait son metier ignoble. Il a reussi de forcer une de ces filles d'abandonner sa religion chrétienne et de devenir juive sans que les autorités auraient même une idée de célà.

Cette canaille tient à Péra, Rue Adda No 3 un bordel où il tient toujours 8-10 filles autrichiennes- hongroisses qu'il exploite de la manière la plus infame et maltraite.

Michel Salomonovich tient á Galata 2 clubs, l'un dirigé par un certain *Asher Gruenberg* l'autre par un certain *David Sobrienetzky*. Ces Clubs ne sont que des bourses de ces marchands d'esclaves où on offre la fille chrétienne la vende et revende, comme sur un marché de bestiaux. Le public qui voit enter et sortir de ces clubs toutes ces personnes n'a pas une idée de leur qualité.

Il ne sont que des marchant d'esclaves, maqueraux et leurs agents qui s'y reunissent sous le pretexte d'un club honnet.

Je ne crois par que quelqu'un osera de s'opposer à l'influence du nommé Michel Salomonovich, chef de la police dont le charactère a été designé dans mon article. Quest-ce que peut faire le Grand Vizîr ou le Sultan même contre le toutpuissant Michel Salomonovich ? Quuand S. M. le Sultan avait donné l'ordre par un iradé de fermer tous les bordels aux coins de la large rue de Galata à l'occasion du 15 Ramadan a.p., une maison apartenente à Moise Mordoch Hollender, soitdisant sujet autrichien, surnommé Moise Gotmann, soit-disant sujet russe et qui est en vérité sujet ottoman, est restée ouverte grâce à la haute protection de Michel Salomonovich. Les autres devraient fermer parceque leurs propriétaires n'étaient pas en étât de payer des sommes importantes qui Michel Salomonovich demandait d'eux pour sa protection. Cette maison de Moise Mordoch Hollander est située Kemankesch Kara Mustafa Pacha Mahale Rue Blebletschi No. 10 et porte le nom Hôtel de la Marine.

Si quelqu'un present une plainte contre Hollander auprès le ministre de la police, celuici mandera le plaintif au Gouverneur de Galata Serail ; mais qu'est ce peut faire le Gouverneur, quand le Mouawen de Galata-Serail est le protecteur de la maison de Hollander ; et à quel motif protèga-t-il ce bordel ? Parcequ'on lui a bien lavé la main et il touche un bachchich mensuel. Il existait un ordre du Ministre de la police de fermer une porte des boutiques ou on vente des alcohols et des maisons de tolerance qui étaient ouvertes à deux portes. Son ordre a été exécuté par le 1re. Comissaire de Galata Shemshe Effendi, et 3 brasseries avec de service de femmes publiques ont été fermées et scellées par la police.

Sur le conseil de Michel Salomonovich les propriétaires de ces maisons publiques et boutiques se sont reuni et ont collecté la somme de 300 £ qui Michel Salomonovich a pris pour les porter au ministre de la police. Je ne sais par ce qu'est devenu de cette somme mais je sais seulement que les scelles ont été enlevés et les deuxiêmes portes ouvertes alors l'etât c'est le même qu'auparavant. Si vous demandez qui a donné l'ordre d'ouvrir de nouveau ces portes et maisons nous recevrez la reponse, qu'il s'était sur l'ordre du Ministre de la police.

S'il est vrai ou non, le ministre de la police doit le savoir. Je sais seulement que les maisons ont été ouvertes par Hairi Effendi 1re. Comissaire de Galata, et Soliman Bey, Capitaine de la Gendarmerie en présence de Michel Salomonovich qui prétentaient d'agir sur l'ordre du Ministre de la police. T'ous les bordels, cafés-chantants, brasseries, boutiques, maisons de jeu etc. sont obligées de payer chaque mois une somme respective à Michel

Salomonovich, qui déclare quil devait payer une partie de cette somme aux differents Comissaires de la police à Galata, une autre partie au Gouverneur de Galata Serail et le restant passerait dans la poche du Ministre de la police. Si quelqu'un déclare qu'il n'a pas les moyens de payer un somme demandée de lui, Michel Salomonovich déclare qu'il devait payer sur l'ordre du Ministre de la police. De cette manière Michel Salomonovich extorque chaque mois la somme de 3-400 Livres.

Personne ose de presenter une plainte contre Michel Salomonovich auprès le Ministre de la police, parcequ'on sait que Michel Salomonovich dispose toujours d'un état d'assistants toujours prêts, qui déposent des fausses déclarations contre le plaintif, ainsi qu'il se trouve renvoyé et exposé à la vengeance de Michel Salomonovich. Si arrive un malheur, une arrestation, incendie etc. on s'adresse immédiatement à Michel Salomonovich qui arrange tout.

A qnoi sert l'ordre du ministre de la police donné au Salon de la Douane de controler rigoureusement l'embarquement et debarquement de politiciens, maqueraux, femmes publiques, personnages soupçonnées, quand Michel Salomonovich trouve toujours les moyens d'expédier et recevoire des personnes tout à fait à son aise ? Qui sont ses assistants ? Ce sont les premiers Comissaires Giridli Musta Bey, Apostole Effendi et Husny Bey, employés au bureau des passeports. Tous ils sont d'accord avec Michel Salomonovich qui leur paie bien ses bachshiches. Musta Bey ne se content pas de son employ, parcequ'il vit avec une pudaine dans la maison de Michel Salomonovich et fait son joli metier de maquereau après avoir fini son service gouvernementale. Michel Salomonovich sait très bien s'arranger et quand il ne reussit pas par de bachschich, il arrive par des femmes, dont il dispose en masse.

Il est bien triste qu'à Constantinople, Capitale de la Turquie un homme de la sorte de Michel Salomonovich est et en état de se presenter comme agent toutpuissant du ministre de la police, surtout dans un pays, au la police secrète a tout d'influence sur le public. Je prie le public de Constantinople de faire bien attention de cet homme dangereux parcequ'il est en état faire beaucoup de mal, et tous les lecteurs de cet article devraient se reunir contre cette eanaille et sougsue.

Il y aussi un certain Schimshe Effendi moutemais de Bechiktach, le quartier le plus noble de Constantinople et un certain Nouhri Eff. 3me Com. De l'enquête à Galata Serail et un certain Mehemmed Aly I. Com. Galata Serail qui sont des compagnons fidèles de Michel Salomonovich. Quand les 3 officiers ne peuvent pas encaisser le backshich habituel Michel Salomonovich arrange tout pour eux et ils partagent le benefice entre eux.

En outre j'ai appris, qu'un certain Hafan Bey, avocat un soulard de première classe, ainsi qu'un autre marquereau un certain Léon né Arménien, aujourd'hui turque, et Tahir Bey, aide de camp à la garde imperiale sont en société avec Michel Salomonovich. Tous ces gens sont assistants fidèles de Salomonovich pour ruiner des personnes innombrables. En cas que Michel Salomonovich a besoin des femmes turques pour son interët, alors ces employés surnommés lui les fournissent et les apportent dans la maison du maquereau Léon, Rue Wenerdik, où la femme de Léon, Chume, fille d'une vieille maquerelle Karoline, les recoive et les tient à la disposition de Michel Salomonovich, qui dispose d'elles selon son besoin.

Il serait utile de savoir aussi les noms de quelques agents principaux de ces maqueraux :

L'agent principal de Salomonovich, s'appelle *Joseph Stern*, sujet persan. Si Salomonovich, lequel connaissent même les pierres des rues de Constantinople, doit corompre un employé du gouvernement et quand il n'ose pas d'aller chez lui en personne, parcequ'il est trop connu dans les environs alors il envoie le Joseph Stern, qui arrange tout pour lui en son nom.

En outre Stern recoive les pauvres victimes qui arrivent par bateau ou chemin de fer en destination pour Salomonovich et les conduit dans son bordel.

Un autre agent s'appelle *Haim-Weiss* nommé *Haim-Atche*.

Un troisième s'appelle *Schmiel-Kohn*, nommé l'aveugle. Un homme court et miope, mais qui malgré ses petits yeux sait à merveille de séduire les pauvres filles et de les persuader de lui suivre dans l'esclavage à Constantinople.

Un autre s'appelle *Haim Burech Holländer*. Son frére *Moses Mordoch Holländer* tient aussi un Bordel, à Galata, auparavant sujet autrichien il est devenu sujet ottoman, célà est plus commode pour son métier. Un troisième frère *Sholem Holländer* sujet autrichien à été expulsé de la Roumanie pour esclavage et tient à présent une petite bourse à Galata pour ce metier, on vende et achête lee femmes comme dans les autres Clubs.

Noms des agents : *Siettienscher, Moses Sartker, Moritz* le *Reiter* ; la femme de celui-ci est maîtresse à la maison de Salomonovich.

A Péra, Rue Douzio existent encore des bordels tenus par un certain *Aller Kugel*, auparavant sujet autrichien aujourd'hui sujet ottoman, et d'un *Loeb Graf*, sujét autrichien. Sa femme étant sujette ottomane lui vient bien en aide dans son métier.

A Galata, un compagnon de Michel Salomonovich un certain *Abraham Finkelstein*, surnommé *Itzig Atschemer* tient aussi un bordel, sa femme Sabine fonctionne comme maîtresse.

Son frère, ainsi compagnon de Salomonovich s'appelle *Moses Finkelstein* et tient également un bordel à Galata.

Ces sont les noms des principaux marchands d'esclaves, leurs agents et maqueraux ; mais il-y-a encore nombre d'eux.

Il est considéré comme très nécessaire que les agences politiques européennes fassent une enquête très sévêre et sérieuse parmi les employés subalternes de leurs Consulats respectifs, et qu'on obligera le Ministre de la police turque de faire enfin les demarches nécessaires contre ces gens infames et de finir avec cette espèce d'esclavage. Qu'on ferme ces maisons, punisse et expulse leurs propriétaires, et renvoie les filles dans leurs patries.

Il est terrible si on met en considération que chaque année des centaines de jeunes filles chrétiennes tombent dans les griffes de ces sangsues juives qui exécutent leur metier infame tout tranquillement et avec une insolence incroyable, parceque le bachchich est toutpuissant à Constantinople et même des personnages haute placées ne le refusent pas, parceque une Livre ressemble à l'autre et on ne sent pas le honte et la sangue des êtres malheureuses quiles ont tachées.

Au sécours, au secours, si vite que possible !!

Que ce cris au secours des victimes malheureuses ne soit pas poussé vainement et que cet appel à l'humanité du public ne soit pas inutile !!!

This document has been typeset with all the typographical mistakes it contained in order to preserve its originality.

S. COHEN

*REPORT OF AN ENQUIRY MADE IN CONSTANTINOPLE ON BEHALF OF THE JEWISH ASSOCIATON FOR THE PROTECTION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN**

For very many years the statement has been made that Turkey was one of the principal goals aimed at by the trafficker in girls and women, and that Constantinople was the principal port by which that traffic was introduced into the country. Exciting tales have been told, and romantic stories have been written, as to the participation of Turkey in this shameful evil, but it has always been very difficult to get any real information on the subject.

Who were the traffickers? Who were the victims? To whom were the young girls sold, and for what purpose were they sold? Where did they come from, and what became of them? These are questions that have often been asked and which have met with a variety of answers. To some of them it is really difficult to give a definite reply. I will, however, endeavour to give some little information as a result of my enquiries in Constantinople in May, 1914, but will preface it by giving an outline of the events which led to my going there.

Since the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women has been established it has always particularly interested itself in foreign girls. In fact, almost the whole of its work has been done on behalf of girls who have come to England from foreign countries, and this has necessitated correspondence with people in those countries. It is, however, only in recent years that the International work has grown so largely. It culminated in a Jewish International Conference held in London in 1910. The preparations for this Conference took a long time, and in the course of the enquiries which had to be made abroad, important information was obtained from Constantinople as to the prevalence of the traffic in girls and women which existed there. The statement was made that a very large proportion of the victims of the traffic, as well as of the traffickers themselves, were Jews and Jewesses. Further enquiries were set on foot by the Central Bureau of the Association with the result that a growing interest was shown in affairs concerning Constantinople.

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* London, 1914.

Early in 1912, the Central Bureau got into communication with Madame Ponafidine, the wife of the then Russian Consul-General in Constantinople. That lady, who was an American, sent us a full statement of the doings at Constantinople, and of the efforts that were being made by a handful of earnest workers, headed by herself, so that it was decided that some personal enquiry should be made by the Central Bureau to see what assistance could be rendered towards bringing about an improvement. In the meantime visits had been made to Constantinople by Fraulein Pappenheim of Frankfort, a/M. and Mme. Eugène Simon of Paris, and both these ladies corroborated the details given by Mme. Ponafidine. The latter had also been in correspondence with Baron Alexander Günsburg of St. Petersburg and the Russian Society for the Protection of Girls in the endeavour to obtain the services of a paid worker at the Docks in Constantinople. The matter was also discussed by the German Jewish Joint Committee of the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden and the Grand Lodge of the B'nai B'rith Order, and the facts thus elicited were further corroborated by Dr. B. Kahn, of the Hilfsverein, who made several journeys to the East. Both these Organisations have interest in the East, and the B'nai B'rith had sent out the late Herr Bergel upon a mission which included co-operation with our Central Bureau for the suppression of the Jewish traffic. All these things led up to negotiations between the Jewish Association in London and the Joint Committee in Berlin, with the result that it was decided that a subsidy should be sent to Constantinople so that definite work might be started for the protection of Jewish girls. Unfortunately, the Balkan wars broke out, and entirely delayed the possibility of commencing work. However, as soon as peace was concluded, the negotiations were again opened, and I left London at the end of April, 1914. I arrived in Constantinople on May 5th and at once began my enquiries.

I had mapped out a definite plan of action. This consisted of a thorough investigation into the actual existence of the traffic of Jewish Girls, the source from which they came, the origin or nationality of the traffickers, and finally what means had been taken, or were likely to be taken, towards bringing about a better state of affairs. I had the assistance of Dr. Auerbach, the representative of the German Joint Committee, who had been resident in Constantinople for several years, and who spared no effort to make my visit a success, and I was greatly encouraged by the practical activity of His Excellency the American Ambassador, Mr. Henry Morgenthau. I made several visits to the quarter were the immoral houses were situated, to the Docks, to various institutions, and to a large number of people who were either already interested in the work of combating the evil or in whom it was necessary to arouse interest.

Constantinople is situated at the southern entrance to the Bosphorus, and every ship going to or coming from Southern Russia, Roumania or Bulgaria, and carrying passengers to other European ports or Egypt, must call at Constantinople. The number of ships therefore is very large. It is estimated that, in addition to some 10,000 coasting vessels, about 15,000 steamships call at the Port annually. It is also the most convenient place for the commerce between the near East of Asia and Europe, and therefore large numbers of people of different nationalities meet there. The docks are extensive and conveniently situated, and so the Port is largely used. It will be seen, therefore, that a very large number of sailors are necessarily always in the town. Moreover the Docks themselves are besieged at all times by numbers of men who wish to act as guides, porters, interpreters, etc. For advantage is taken of the fact that as very few people who arrive in Constantinople know the Turkish language, they must rely to a very large extent on the services of these guides. This consideration applies also to the Railway Station in Stamboul, where the scene, on the arrival of the train, is peculiarly animated. The character of these guides is by no means of the best, as they are prepared to do everything and anything at a price, and many of them are connected commercially with the houses of ill-fame. It is therefore particularly necessary that, in considering the question of the suppression of the traffic in girl and women, special attention should be paid to the Docks and arrangements made for the supervision of the arrival and departure of the ships. A little has been attempted in this way, but it has not met with much success. A German lady, Fraulein Hirschberg, belonging to one of the Missions, was appointed by a small Council presided over by Madame Ponafidine, but the money for paying her salary has been difficult to find, and she has worked on, out of a sense of duty both to the Mission and to the protection of girls, with practically no stipend. But her work is almost futile. She acknowledges that herself. A large number of the girls who really need protection are Jewesses who come from Russia, Roumania or Galicia, and if she attempts to induce any girls to leave the company of an undesirable companion, or to go with her for better protection, those who are interested in the traffic (i.e., the guides and others), at once warn the girl that Fraulein Hirschberg is a missionary, and that she intends to convert them. Fraulein Hirschberg, too, does not speak Yiddish, and is quite helpless when these warnings are given to the girls in that language, while a large number of the guides are Jews, and the traffickers with whom they are in touch have little or no difficulty in approaching the passengers. Moreover a woman, as a worker at the Docks, even though she may have the permits and the assistance of the Companies and authorities, could not deal adequately with these shady and

criminal men, and thus cannot carry out satisfactorily the duties of her office. A male worker is absolutely necessary, and he must be a Jew, and a woman, such as Fraulein Hirschberg, should act together with him, so that she can help girls who are not of the Jewish faith. It must not be taken for granted that all the victims and all the traffickers are Jews, for there are many others, but as these Jewish victims are generally the least educated and the more easily duped, it is recognised that a Jewish worker is necessary. Again one worker is totally insufficient for night and day duty at the many boats and trains; hence it is imperative that a woman worker shall also be appointed.

The Galata district, in which most of the brothels are situated, is so near to the docks that I will mention it next. Behind the line of docks there runs a long street called the Galata Street. A little further west is another street leading up to Pera and called the Great Pera Street. Between these two streets, in the district known as Galata, there is a maze of small, intricate, narrow, hilly streets, all very badly paved, and at night almost entirely unlit. The houses are low and small and seem to be in an indescribably filthy condition. Many of these streets are wholly given up to brothels. I thought that the sights I witnessed in Rio de Janeiro were bad, but these brothels in Constantinople beggar description. The inmates of the brothel are seated on low stools or boxes or on low couches, with almost nothing on in the way of clothes. Their faces are painted and powdered, but the haggard look in their eyes cannot be hidden. In almost every case, each prostitute sits in a small compartment not more than 20 to 24 inches wide with a wire netting in front facing the street. Some few have small windows. These wire nettings are apparently placed there to prevent the girls from being molested by the men in the street, but they permit the girls to call out to the passers by. In every house the "Madame" sits near the door or close at hand to watch over the inmates. The whole scene is revolting. It was particularly disgusting when I passed through on one or two occasions during the day, when the streets were not so crowded with men, and the women were not yet quite prepared for their "business". Some stood at the doors or walked about in the rooms in a semi-naked condition, others had dressed themselves somewhat and were walking about the streets paying visits to other houses. The ages of these of these prostitutes appeared to me to be much younger than those I saw in South America. On Fridays and Sundays and on Feast Days (whether Turkish or Greek), the streets were full, and "business" was brisk. I walked through these streets on the night of a Feast day and of a Friday, and I shall never forget the looks on the girls' faces. They appeared quite exhausted, utterly demoralised.

In the vicinity of these houses are cafés and drinking saloons, and in almost every one gambling is going on incessantly. The clients of these saloons, as well as many of the owners, are traffickers or bullies, and a more evil looking set of men I have rarely seen. They are not of the ordinary rough looking hooligan type, but a set of cool, calculating scoundrels, whose only aim in life appears to be to get money without having to work for it, and to gamble it away as fast as possible. Many of them look exceedingly prosperous, and when one compares them with the poor things who are compelled to supply them with money, it is very difficult to keep one's feelings in a normal condition.

Everything appears as free and as licentious as possible. There are no hindrances and no difficulties from the authorities. Except for the fact that a policeman is placed in a kind of sentry box in one or two places, there is not the slightest supervision. The streets themselves are nightly crowded with men of all nationalities, with a large preponderance of sailors. The inmates of the houses appeared to me to be mainly Russian and Polish Jewesses, though there were many others. In this district, which is one of the poorest in Constantinople, there are other houses with numbers of children, and these children are running about the streets where the immoral houses are and thus being bred in évil from their babyhood. What an effect this must have on them as they grow older! There are also churches, schools, and synagogues in this district, but until recently no attempt was made to bring about any improvements. It must be remembered that the majority of the people who reside in Galata are not Mohammedans, but Greeks and Jews, and most of the principal business houses are within a few minutes' walk of these streets. I have till now spoken only of the district known as Galata, and I have unfortunately had to declare that most of the prostitutes, brothel keepers and traffickers were Jews or Jewesses. In Pera, however, the state of affairs is different. Here it is seldom that one comes across Jewish prostitutes, bullies or brothel keepers. There are one or two such houses, it is true, but those mainly concerned in them are French, German, Greek, Russian, Roumanian or Armenian people. Belonging to their nationalities are the women who walk the streets, or frequent the cafés or go to the so-called music halls. They are chiefly the "flash" prostitutes with whom the better class Turks and foreigners go. Many of the "artistes", too, that sing and dance at these variety performances are nothing more nor less than prostitutes, and after their "turn" go among the audience to seek out other means of earning money. At one house in particular where the performance commences near midnight and goes on till 4.30 in the morning, the scenes are really disgraceful.

In Pera one sees the prostitutes who are acting for themselves; those to whom a life of prostitution appears attractive. In Galata, on the contrary, the inmates of the brothels show very markedly by their haggard and depressed manner that their life has no charm for them, and that they are kept there by some outside force, by some influence which they cannot shake off. Escape is almost useless even if it were possible, for to whom could these girls turn for sympathy? Others in the same district would be afraid to help them, and if they went further away nobody could understand their language.

The question might well be asked, how is it that this big evil has been tolerated for so long? There are several answers, but perhaps the most important is that the attitude of the authorities has been one of non-interference. The Turk does not look upon the traffic in women as do the people of Western Europe. His religion permits him to practise polygamy, and if he can afford it, he has a harem with several wives. It has often been declared, with what truth it is not easy to say, that in the harems of rich Mohammedans there are young women of other faiths. Stories have often been told of the fabulous sums paid by rich Musselmans for young girls from Western countries. It is, of course, impossible to verify such stories.

It can, however, be said with truth that the Turks do not shrink from making use of the public brothels, although they are very strict about their own women folk not leading immoral lives. The answer generally given by them when asked why the present state of affairs is permitted, is that the matter does not concern them so long as the inmates of the brothels do not belong to the Mohammedan faith. With regard to the prostitutes of other faiths they do not see why they should interfere. Their argument is that if other nations and other religions permit women to act as prostitutes in their own country, why should they be prohibited from doing so in Turkey. It will, therefore, be seen how difficult it is to get any serious co-operation from the Turkish people or from their laws, and I feel that the only way in which some improvement can take place is by bringing outside pressure to bear, through the Embassies and Consulates, so that there might be some awakening in the more prosperous section of the Turks. Another very important matter is the serious state of affairs as regards education. The Turkish Government makes very little provision for the education of its own children and none whatever for the education of its own children and none whatever for those of another faith. The result is that there are thousands of children running about the streets in the poorest quarters without any education whatever. This neglect is particularly hard in the case of the Jewish children. There are only very few schools, subsidised by the Alliance Israélite and by the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, and only a small number of these, mainly belonging to the

Alliance, are for Jewish girls. The result has been that a strong missionary effort has been made by the various churches and particularly by the Scotch Presbyterian Church which educates more than a thousand Jewish children. Nothing can be hoped for from the Turkish Government in this direction. Another serious aspect of the matter is that when the girls are of an age to leave schools, there are no industries to which they can go. Turkey has practically no industries, and if any adequate protection work is to be done for these girls to prevent them taking up a life of immorality, more schools must be established, and technical and industrial training must be given.

It has always been the proud boast of the Jewish Community in Constantinople that practically none of the girls born in the country have become prostitutes. Unfortunately this cannot now be said. The wars in which Turkey has had to engage have deprived many families of the bread-winner, and the result is that poverty is so rife and so apparent as to cause the greatest misgivings for the future of these poor people. Many have seen the ease with which the foreign prostitutes have made money. It is only out of sheer necessity to exist they have lent themselves to this horrible mode of life. Some little effort is being made by a band of Jewish ladies to save some of the girls, but it is entirely hampered for want of the necessary means. A small Jewish orphanage for girls is in existence at Chichili, which has twenty-six inmates. Each of these is a double orphan. The Institution is only a few years old and the children are almost entirely of school age. A little is being done towards teaching them some handwork or housework with the hope that suitable situations might be found for them. The orphanage, however, is pressed for room. It is badly housed, though everything is carried on well, and it lacks financial support. There is a long waiting list, and there is urgent need for a new building.

So important do I consider the question of education elementary, technical and industrial – as a preventive against an immoral life, that I urge with all the power that I can that the Jews in other parts of the world take up the matter in a generous spirit and endeavour to carry it to a successful issue.

If we think only of the contamination of the children living in the district of Galata, I am sure that no pains will be spared to bring about some improvement.

An important move is, however, being made with regard to the Galata district. So bad do the respectable communities consider the state of affairs, that the heads of the churches, schools, synagogues and convents are making representations to the Government to remove the houses of ill fame from that district. They appear sanguine of success, but many people to whom I spoke fear that no support will be forthcoming from the Turkish Authorities. It is

also a moot point as to whether the removal of the houses will not bring about a system of state regulation of vice, which will make matters no better than they are at present. Still, the fact that people are interesting themselves in the fate of the children and that a certain amount of public opinion is being thereby aroused, is a good sign and may lead to the betterment of conditions all round.

At present there are no laws against procuration, and the police are not at all helpful in endeavouring to stop the traffic. In Constantinople the question of the traffic cannot be easily dealt with without also taking largely into consideration the question of prostitution. Many people have become rich from carrying on both these "Trades", and it was pointed out to me how difficult it was to obtain the co-operation of the police officials. These officials receive very small wages, and often have to wait a long time for their payment. It is therefore little wonder that they seize the opportunity of obtaining a little ready money by closing their eyes, or even by actively helping the bullies and traffickers and owners of brothels. Efforts have recently been made to capture some of the traffickers, but it is a remarkable thing that these men have always been able to obtain information in time to permit them to escape into hiding.

Recently, in conjunction with Mr. Coote of the International Bureau for the Supression of the White Slave Traffic, who visited Constantinople, an International Committee was formed for the purpose of fighting the traffic, and all the communities are represented on it. The leading spirit of the whole movement is the American Ambassador, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, who has made up his mind to steer the Committee to success. His energetic example has been well followed, and if only the present activity can be kept up, excellent results are sure to follow. On this International Committee all the Embassies, Consulates and religious Communities are represented. The support of a Turkish Minister, Rashad Pasha, has been obtained as President, and there are two other Turkish members, one of them being Samuel Bey, the Chief of the detective department of the Police, who is a Jew. There are a number of Presidents of Honour, including the Haham Bashi, Dr. Nahoum, and Mrs. Nahoum. There is a strong Administrative Committee, a meeting of which I was invited to attend, the Jewish members of which are Mr. and Mrs. Morgenthau, Dr. Auerbach, Dr. Marcus, and Madame Fuchs. Among the other members are Rev. Dr. Frew, Judge Cator (of the English Consular Court), Dr. Stchepotiew (Chief of the Russian Hospital), Graf von Luttichau (the Chaplain of the German Embassy), Advocate Mizzi, Mr. Charnot, the Russian Consul-General, the Austrian Consul-General, and others, with Mr. Bihs as Honorary Secretary. All these ladies and gentlemen are intensely

interested, and intend to strive for successful work. Some of them like Dr. Frew and Graf von Luttichau had already been woking for some years with Madame Ponafidine, and they are able to bring their experience to bear upon the work of the Committee.

There is also a strong Finance Committee and at the meeting which I attended, a scheme was brought forward by which, with the help of the ladies of the various Embassies, it is hoped to raise sufficient funds for working expenses.

The question of organisation is one which is being tackled in real earnest. It has been resolved that a Bureau shall be established, with a paid Secretary who shall give the whole of his time, and that he shall be assisted by a staff, including a male dock agent. It was further decided that a Home shall be established to which rescued girls could be taken while awaiting their disposal, and that satisfactory arrangements shall be made for respectable girls needing protection.

Expression was given to the feeling that the Committee were not receiving adequate support from the Turkish Authorities, and a special Committee of the Consuls-General had to report that in spite of the promises made to supply them with lists of the traffickers who ought to be deported, nothing was done. It is as well here to mention that the Capitulations exist in Turkey. That is to say, each of the great powers has its own Consular Court with jurisdiction over all those people who claim its nationality. This has led to many difficulties, for when an attempt has been made to arrest an individual through one Consulate, he has claimed the protection of another, being easily able to procure passports or other papers to support his statement. Cases have been known where some of the traffickers have passports of various countries. A case was reported to me where an arrest was to be made, and where at the last moment the Turkish police stepped in and claimed jurisdiction. The delay caused by all these difficulties is so long that the culprit manages to be at a distance when the tangle is finally thrashed out. This trouble led to the establishment of a special Committee of Consuls-General, an official body, and each Consul prepared lists of known traffickers with the object of preventing them from claiming different nationality, and of taking steps to deport all those who were upon their lists. The news that this was being done so frightened the bullies and traffickers that many of them fled the country. When they found, however, that the Turkish police were by no means anxious to carry out the suggestions of the Committee, they very soon returned and at present flourish as much as ever. It was this Committee which reported their inability to secure the cooperation of the Police, and it has therefore been

decided to gather together all the information possible so that the higher authorities might be approached and their assistance secured.

The International Committee has decided that it must have £1,000 per annum to carry on its work and, after having seen for myself the urgent necessity for such work, I trust that they may be successful in their endeavour to secure this sum.

I will give but one instance of the many cases reported to me to show what can be done if the necessary funds and necessary workers are ready to hand. The person who brought this case to a successful issue was a young Russian Journalist who was keenly interested in the work against the traffic.

This young man received information from the Committee for the protection of Girls in Odessa that a young Jewish girl aged 17 had been trafficked to Constantinople, and he was asked to trace her. A letter written by the mother of the girl, together with a photograph, was sent to him. He tried for days, by visiting the houses of ill-fame, to find her, but could not do so. He then gave the postman of the district some money, and asked him to enquire at all the houses whether a girl of that name lived in any one of them. He told him to say that a letter with some money had come for her and was being kept at the Russian post office. In the meantime he enquired at the Russian Hospital and at the Lock Hospital, but the name of the girl could not be traced nor could anybody answering the description and the photograph be found. After a few days, however, the postman discovered the house, and the young man called there just as if he were a guest so as not to arouse suspicion. He found that every girl in the house spoke a different language, and that they could not understand one another. He was a linguist, and by careful questioning found a girl who spoke French (she had come from Morocco), and he gleaned from her the news that the girl he wanted was in hospital and was not expected back for a day or two. He called again next day, and whilst talking to the moroccan girl, an elderly woman, dressed in gorgeous clothes and covered with diamonds, walked in, followed by a young girl who appeared to be in great trouble. He was told that this was the girl he wanted. He waited a few minutes, and then spoke to the girl, and, as if he were a guest, asked her to take him to another room. He then explained to her his errand and told her to come away with him. He showed her the letter from her mother and she agreed to go with him. To the great surprise of our friend, the "Madame" did not hinder her departure. The reason will soon be seen.

The girl said that in Odessa she had been introduced to a young man by a girl friend. He soon made love to her, and shortly afterwards said that he had to return to Constantinople where he had a fine business. He had in the meantime ruined the girl, and when he suggested that she should go with him,

it did not take long for her to agree. He would not permit her to tell her parents, and she ran away and they took the boat to Constantinople. She stated that the young man by some means arranged matters with some of the crew, and she was hidden in the coal bunkers so that nobody should see her. On their arrival at Constantinople, he smuggled her in without the formality of producing a passport. He took her right away to a house of ill-fame, and told her almost immediately that she would have to live there and earn money in the same way as the other girls. She absolutely refused to do this, and fought so that she knocked out some of his teeth. She saw the woman of the house give the trafficker some money. She stated that both the man and the "Madame" beat her unmercifully when she continued to refuse to act immorally, and she was starved in order to subdue her. She become very ill and was taken to the hospital. Here it was found that she had contracted syphilis from her contact with the trafficker. She was entered in a false name and the "Madame" visited her occasionally. She was told that, unless she returned to the house, she would be handed over to the police of the Russian Consulate. She had a terrible fear of the Russian police, having seen their conduct in Russia, and having nowhere else to go decided to return to the house, meaning to do away with herself at the first opportunity.

When our friend spoke to the girl, the Madame felt that there was something wrong, and was afraid herself that the police were after her. Thus she placed no obstacle in the way of the girl's departure. Our friend took her to the Russian Consulate, and after a stay at the Russian Hospital she was repatriated to her home. Before I left Constantinople letters had been received from the girl, her parents and the Odessa Committee announcing her safe arrival, and also giving details of another young girl of 16 or 17 who was in a brothel and who desired to return to her home. I am glad to be able to report that this second girl was also rescued and sent to her home.

These cases show, not only the necessity for the work of the International Committee in Constantinople, but also what can be done where the matter is tackled in real earnest.

Now, to prove how useless it is under present circumstances to attempt to enforce the law, it may be added that efforts were made by the Russian Consul to arrest the young trafficker. He was found to be an inmate of the Lock Hospital. Whilst arrangements were being made to execute the arrest, warning was given him, no doubt through one of the minor officials at the Consulate, and he discharged himself and disappeared.

In a cosmopolitan city like Constantinople peculiar circumstances have always to be considered when matters of justice, philanthropy, etc., have to be dealt with. I have already spoken of the Capitulations, and how each of the

great powers has jurisdiction over its own residents. I am of opinion that this provision is by no means good for the country itself, for I think that there is always a possibility of greater progress when there is one authority rather than a multiplicity of authorities. But in the field of religious and philanthropic endeavour I think that the contrary is often the case. Here it may frequently be better to let each denomination manage its own affairs, with, where possible, the financial and moral support of the State.

I discussed very fully with many people the advisability of a Jewish Committee working separately for the protection of girls and for the suppression of the traffic, and it was unanimously agreed that such a Jewish Committee ought to exist, owing to the question of language and to the existence of various Jewish customs, which are not easily understood by people outside the Community. Of course this Committee would take no separate action, and would work entirely in harmony and in co-operation with the International Committee. A small Jewish Committee was therefore formed, representative of the various sections of the Community, and they will take up such work as cannot be done by the International Committee. The members of this Committee are Dr. Auerbach, Dr. Markus, Mr. Reisner, Mr. Alfandari and Mr. Piza. The work will be done under the supervision of the Order of the B'nai B'rith, and a room and the services of a secretary have been granted by the Order. The arrangement come to with them is that they will take charge of all Jewish girls handed over to them by the International Committee. They will establish a Home for those girls who are rescued and make arrangements for boarding and lodging those girls who need to be protected. They will take up the question of the native Jewish girls, and see what can be done towards bettering their position. They will form a ladies' Committee, and study the question of providing employment for girls. They will try and obtain as much information as possible with a view to helping the International Committee to carry out its work against the traffickers.

It has been arranged that the Joint Committee of the Central Bureau in London and the Committee in Berlin shall subsidise this Jewish Committee with a certain amount of money towards its work, and that out of this fund, and also out of any money that may be collected locally, an annual amount shall be paid to the International Committee towards its work of providing a Bureau, a Secretary, and a Jewish worker as Dock agent an investigating officer.

This Jewish Committee has the sanction of Mr. Morgenthau and of the Chief Rabbi, and it is earnestly hoped that their interest will be maintained and that their activity will lead to successful work.

It has hitherto been a constant fear in Constantinople, as in many other countries, that the establishment of a Jewish Committee or any public work by Jews against the Traffic, would cause a diffusion of the idea that the traffic is entirely in the hands of the Jews. This is a very unfortunate position to take up, and wherever possible I have urged arguments against it. It is only when Jews show that they are not indifferent to this evil, and that they mean to fight it, if possible, even more energetically than others, that the prevalent idea of the extent of Jewish participation in the evil can be set right. In all my enquiries in different countries I have unfortunately had to admit that there are many Jewish traffickers and that there are not in a majority anywhere, although their numbers are certainly much larger than they should be. The facts I have ascertained have all compelled me to recall again and again the terrible restrictions and persecutions which the class of Jews, from which the traffickers and victims are drawn, have to undergo. Much the larger number come from Russia and Poland, and the trials and troubles of the Jews in those countries are so well known as to excuse further recapitulation. Until education is possible for them, until they are able to trade freely and to learn industries whereby they can earn a living, Jewish girls from Russia and Poland will always remain an easy prey to the astute traffickers in human souls. Although the question of education does not hold quite so strongly in the case of those girls who come from Galicia, yet the economic conditions there are so terrible that it is little wonder that they seek eagerly some loop-hole to escape from the surrounding misery.

To sum up the present activities of those who are organising the work in Constantinople, I will state what has been done by them:

1. An International Committee has been formed with Reshad Pasha as President.

2. This Committee is composed of members of the various Embassies, Consulates and religious communities, police officials, and some distinguished foreign residents of Constantinople.

3. The Committee has appointed several sub-Committees, the most important of which are a Finance Committee and an Administrative Committee.

4. It has been decided to establish a Bureau and to engage a permanent Secretary and a Jewish Dock Agent, and to establish a Home and to make arrangements for repatriating girls.

5. They have decided to raise £1,000 annually for the working expenses, with the aid of the various embassies and communities.

6. They will gather full information as to the people carrying on the traffic, and use the whole of their united influence to obtain the deportation of these undesirables, and to produce effective work on the part of the police.

I would here suggest that the Bureau should be located at the Docks, so as to be within reach of the whole of the Galata district, and that there should always be a lady in attendance with the Secretary. I would also suggest that each girl on arrival should be given a card with the address of the Bureau and with a short warning in several languages. Every effort should be made both by the International Committee and by the Jewish Committee to make their existence known and to carry on such propaganda work as local conditions will permit. I know that be B'nai B'rith Order are arranging a Conference of all their lodges in the Orient and in the Balkans, and that they are to discuss this question very fully. I trust that it will lead to some good results.

As for the Jewish side of the work, I would urge that the whole question of the status of the Jews in Constantinople should be considered by the leading Jewish communities in Europe and America. Some way out of the terrible, grinding poverty ought to be found; schools must be established, industries must be taught, and if possible the large masses must be dispersed to centres where this poverty will be less unbearable than it is. I have before now asked for the creation of an International Fund to fight the traffic and to protect Jewish girls from becoming victims. I do so again in the hope that these added experiences of mine will help to bring the matter more prominently to the notice of the Jewish Communities of the world.

The difficulties of carrying out an enquiry such as that upon which I have here reported are very apparent, and it is therefore my bounden duty to acknowledge the enormous assistance that I received from several friends. In the first place I must mention Mr. Morgenthau, the American Ambassador, and Mrs. Morgenthau. I have already indicated the great strength that they are to the movement for the suppression of the traffic in Constantinople, and it was mainly through their influence that I received the kind reception that was accorded me. Dr. Israel Auerbach, of the B'nai B'rith Lodge, was my constant guide and friend during the whole of my stay. He went to enormous trouble to make my enquiry successful, and I had to rely upon him to bring me into touch with many people who proved valuable for the work I had in hand. I am quite sure that he will be one of the mainstays of the International Committee, and I need hardly comment on his great interest in the whole Jewish question.

The Chief Rabbi, Dr. Nahoum, accorded me several interviews and his great influence, particularly with the Sephardic Community and the Government officials, will prove invaluable.

Dr. Neufach and his Russian friend, Monsieur Janchewetsky, went to much trouble in giving me information and in accompanying me at night in the Galata quarter and the former should prove a strong worker with the Jewish Committee.

I have also to tender my thanks to Judge Cator and Mrs. Cator, Rev. Dr. Frew, Mr. Bihs, Mr. Reisner and the Rev. Dr. Markus for their kindness, their hospitality and their great assistance.

It is now only necessary for me to conclude by wishing both the International Committee and the Jewish Committee every success in their efforts. I look forward with much interest to their report after a year's working.

59, Mansell Street,

S. COHEN.
Aldgate, London, E.

June, 1914.

SECTION V 'ENTITLED PROSTITUTION' OF THE ARTICLE "ADULT DELINQUENCY" by Charles Trowbridge Riggs[1]

Preliminary

In connection with this section of the Survey, acknowledgment is due to the Turkish Sanitary Bureau for its fullhearted and generous cooperation and courteous help.

The following persons have given us every possible assistance:

Director of the Sanitary Bureau.....	IBRAHIM ASSAF BEY
Chief Doctor of the Bureau.....	OSMAN BEY
Inspector of the Sanitary Bureaus in the city...	FEIZULLAH HASSIP BEY
Controller-Doctor of Galata District.....	REFIK BEY
Controller-Doctor of Kadikeuy District.....	KIANI BEY
Controller-Doctor of Zibah District.....	ZIA BEY
Secretary of Central Sanitary Bureau.....	MEHMED EMIN BEY
Secretary of Galata Sanitary Bureau	SIDKI BEY

The Secretary of the Central Sanitary Bureau by courtesy of the Director accompanied the investigators on their visits in the public houses in the Pera, Zibah, and Galata districts.

I. Houses of Ill Repute

There are two sorts of legally registered houses: Public Houses and Pensions. The former are where prostitutes live and ply their trade in the usual way. The latter are more like rendezvous houses; nearly all the girls live in their private houses, coming only at certain hours to them.

There are also private houses in Kassim Pasha visited by the poorer class of Moslems, and in Shishli visited by the richer class.

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[1] Charles Trowbridge Riggs, "Adult delinquency" pp. 355-367 in Clarence Richard Johnson, (ed), *Constantinople Today or The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople A Study in Oriental Social Life,* (New York: The Macmillan Company), 1922.

Besides these, there are about twenty to twenty-five hotels in different parts of the city, where there exists an agreement between the girls and the waiters so that at any time a room may be had for a rendezvous.

Location and Number: There are three main red-light districts in the city, two in Pera and one in Galata. The Abanos sub-district in Pera is three times as large as the Zibah sub-district, while the Galata district is much larger than these two combined. There is another smaller district in Scutari, in Bülbül-dere, and various other houses in many other parts of the city. The registered houses and pensions in the Pera and Galata districts belong to Christians and Jews; those in Scutari and Kadikeuy to Moslems. The following table shows the numbers and locations:

		Abanos	Zibah	Galata	Scutari	Kadikeuy	Totals
	No of houses	59	23	77	10	6	1 7 5
Nationality of Proprietor							
	Greek	37	13	28	--	1	79
	Armenian	19	10	6	--	--	35
	Jew	3	--	42	--	--	45
	Hungarian	--	--	1	--	--	1
	Egyptian	--	--	--	--	1	1
	Negro	--	--	--	2	--	2
	Bosnian	--	--	--	1	--	1
	Turk	--	--	--	7	4	11

To the Abanos sub-district belong the Abanos, Kütchük, Gsasidji, Kilid, Lale, Foutsoudji, and Karnavoula Streets. To the Zibah sub-district belong the Zibah, Kütchük Zibah, Pasha Bakal, and Ananique Streets. The Galata District includes the Zourefa, Beyzade, Sherbet-Hane, Kara-Oghlan, Badem, Sheftali, Oghlak, and Bülbül Streets. The Scutari houses are all in Bülbül-dere. The Kadikeuy houses are: four in Riza Pasha, one each in Yelgi Deyirmeni and Orta Streets. (Moda)

Sanitary Conditions: The houses on Abanos Street, Pera, are of better class than the others. In the Zibah subdistrict the conditions are such that it would be difficult to conceive worse. The sanitary conditions on Abanos are as good as can be expected under existing circumstances. There seems to be an attempt on the part of the keepers of these houses to keep the toilets clean. The rooms for the most part are clean and well furnished. The other streets drop from fair rank to plain dirty. Something should be done either to clean the houses on these streets or to close them up to the Allied soldiers and sailors.

In Galata, the best houses are in Sherbet-Hane Street. Those on the other streets might rightly be termed shacks. There is an out-of-bounds for British, French and Italian soldiers and sailors in this district. Even if the American sailors are allowed to visit here, they are seldom or never seen in the district.

The houses in the Scutari and Kadikeuy districts could not be visited since the proprietors and inmates are Moslem women. It is said they are very clean; the houses in Kadikeuy and Moda being of a better class than those in Scutari.

Management: The streets in the Galata district do not seem to be as well policed as those in Pera during the day, but the keepers report much activity among the Allied Police about closing time, which is 10 P.M. A number of the keepers have already been fined for keeping open a few minutes later than this hour. All keepers claim that this greatly hurts their business, as that is just the time business is ready to begin.

No evidence of girls being kept in these houses against their will, save that a few expressed the desire to get away if they could.

The Turkish Sanitary Bureau inspects the houses regularly.

Liquor and Drugs: We hear indirectly that two houses on Abanos Street, Pera, sell drugs to any who have the money to buy. It is rumored that many American sailors use drugs. Wine and douzico, beer and sometimes champagne are on sale in several of the houses.

Pensions: There are also seventeen pensions registered as prostitute houses in the Central Sanitary Control Bureau, twelve of which were visited. Of these, nine are under Greek proprietors, two Armenian, one Italian. They are more like rendezvous houses; most of the girls found in them were living in private houses and coming there only at certain hours. All these pensions are in Pera.

2. Inmates

Number and Nationalities: Figures given by the Central Sanitary Bureau:

	Pera	Galata	Stamboul	Kadikeuy and Scutari	Unclassified
Christians and Jews	714	643	1	9	.....
Moslems	56	....	134	168	446
Total.....	770	643	135	177	446

Grand Total – 2171.

Those marked as unclassified are registered but not reporting to the Sanitary Bureau. Of those listed as Christian or Jewish, three hundred do not report; these 746 have disappeared, having left for other places, or been married, or found other employment.

The Director of the Sanitary Bureau states that there are between 4000 and 4500 prostitutes in the city. The number seems to be growing.

In the houses visited in Pera and Galata, the nationalities were in 159 houses:

	Greek	Armenian	Jew	Russian	Italian	Bulgarian	Pole	Romanian	German	French	Total
Abanos	147	49	12	1	3	1	1	-	-	-	214
Zibah	52	13	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	69
Galata	187	29	111	42	1	1	-	4	5	1	381
Totals	386	91	125	43	5	3	1	4	5	1	664
Per cent	58%	13.7%	18.8%	6.4 %							

Official figures for registered girls in Galata district:

Greeks (28 Hellenic subjects, 307 Ottoman)	335
Russians	169
Jews	68
Armenians	47
Austrians	19
Romanians	12
Italians	4
Bulgarians	2
Serbians	2
American, French, German, Negro, 1 each.	
Total:	662

Probably the number of Russians is greater than indicated. The official figures for Galata indicate over 25 percent Rusians, and the number seems to be growing. In the twelve pensions visited, there were found twenty-two Greeks, eleven Armenians, four Spanish Jews, and one French girl.

Ages: All girls must be eighteen years old before they can be registered as prostitutes. Therefore the information given by the keepers and the girls themselves cannot at all be relied upon if the girl is a minor. In only a few cases did the girls give their ages as below eighteen. In the hospital at Shishli, we found girls as young as fourteen. Unregistered girls working in bars are anywhere from thirteen years old and up. Only a few girls were found anywhere above twenty-five years old; the oldest was one of thirty-six, in Scutari. The average age is from nineteen to twenty-two, for those in regular houses and pensions.

Causes of Presence: As far as can be ascertained, the greater part of the girls go into this life because of poverty, although there are cases of girls who were ruined and forced into it.

Financial Arrangements: In the registered houses, the girls are usually paid one-half the fee received, and are given board and room. The fees run all the way from 15 piasters ($.12) a visit in some of the lower houses in Galata to 5 liras ($ 4) a visit in what is called the Yankee House in Pera and one other. In one of the private houses at Shishli, patronized by rich Moslems, the price is from 5 to 10 liras ($ 4 to $ 8) a visit. In these cases of private houses, the person rents her own lodgings. Prices in Pera run from 30 piasters ($ 24) up. On the best streets the average is 1 lira ($ 80), on the others, 50 piasters ($ 40). In general the girls in Pera, Kadikeuy, and Moda are treated well and those in Galata fairly well, by the keepers.

Sanitary Inspection: All the girls are registered in the Turkish Central Sanitary bureau, and have to present themselves once a week for examination. The Bureau is organized as indicated below:

1. Central Bureau.....	Pera	1 Chief Doctor, 1 Inspector Doctor
2. Examination Places....	Pera	2 Doctors, 1 Nurse
	Zibah	1 Doctor, 1 Nurse
	Galata	2 Doctors, 1 Nurse
	Stamboul	2 Doctors, 1 Nurse
	Kadikeuy	1 Doctor, 1 Nurse
3. Treatment Places.....	Galata	
	Stamboul	
	Kadikeuy	1 Doctor each
	Beshiktash	
	Scutari	
	Yenikeuy	

Each examination place has a recording secretary and from one to two agents who see that the girls come for examination at the proper time. If the girl refuses to come to the examination place after she has been notified by the agent, the police bring pressure to bear on the girl and the proprietor that it may not happen again.

All girls when reported diseased are sent to the Shishli Hospital for venereal cases. There is also a special section in the hospital at Haseki for women with venereal diseases. In case a girl is discharged from the Shishli Hospital who has had syphilis, the treatments are continued in the six treatment places.

At the Central Bureau, a Director, his secretary and several clerks do the registration work. The chief doctor and inspection doctor supervise the examination and treatment places.

Each girl is given a registration book, a specimen copy of which is annexed, where must be kept the record of examinations.

All the examination places were visited personally. The doctors do the work very conscientiously. The best and cleanest places were found to be in Pera and Kadikeuy. From one hundred to one hundred and fifty girls are examined per day in Galata. In Kadikeuy during our visit there were eighteen girls examined.

The following chart shows the work done by the five examination places in the city:

GIRLS SENT TO THE HOSPITAL IN THREE MONTHS, DECEMBER, JANUARY AND FEBRUARY LAST

Place	Gonorrhea		Syphilis		Chancre		Total		Remarks
	Xns.	Mosl.	Xns.	Mosl.	Xns.	Mosl.	Xns.	Mosl.	
Pera	130	118	29	32	...	...	159	150	
Zibah	30	...	4	...	4	...	38	...	2 mos. only
Galata	108	...	34	...	...	...	142	...	
Kadikeuy	...	52	...	5	...	...	...	57	Nov., Dec., Jan.
Stamboul	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	11	Feb. 1-15

(Xns.= Christians. Mosl.=Moslems)

In Stamboul there were also thirty unregistered girls sent to the hospital in the time mentioned. The greater number of these unregistered girls are under eighteen years of age, and therefore cannot be registered.

There were also in Kadikeuy during the same period twenty-three unregistered girls sent to the hospital; ten with gonorrhea, ten with syphilis, and three for observation.

Contents of Registration Books of Prostitutes

Page 1.
1. Name
2. Father's Name
3. Age
4. Country
5. Occupation
6. Nationality
7. Height
8. Eyes
9. Hair
10. Face
11. Nose
13. General Appearance
Remarks

Page 2.
1. Name of Proprietor
2. Street
3. Number
4. Date of Entrance
5. Date of Leaving

Pages 3-6
1. Date of Examination
2. Disease
3. Signature of doctor
Remarks

Girls in Bars and Cafés: A careful examination of the bars, etc., in various parts of the city gives the following results:

Pera	District.....	23	bars	with	97	girls
Galata	"	24	"	"	85	"
Top-hane	"	11	"	"	49	"

Thus we have a total of 58 bars with 231 girls as waitresses. Bars in Pera district are visited mostly by the Allied soldiers and sailors; those in Top-hane district by American and English soldiers and sailors. In the Pera district most of the girls are not registered, being anywhere from thirteen years old up. In the Galata district all the girls are registered. Most of the girls in all these bars have private rooms in near-by houses on the same street or neighboring streets. In Galata many of the girls are from registered prostitute houses.

There are also a few restaurants in Kadikeuy and Moda with mostly Russian girls as waitresses. Some of these girls are registered as prostitutes in the Kadikeuy Examination Bureau. Once a month they have to go for their examination.

The girls from these cafés and bars bring their patrons to the rooms or houses where they live. This sort of life is frequently a preliminary to permanent life in a prostitute house. If any of the regular inmates of these houses has any ability as a singer or dancer, she is sure to be in demand as an attraction in the bar, and many patrons are picked up by the girls in this way.

3. Non-Registered Prostitutes

From the figures given on page 358, it appears that the number of regularly registered prostitutes is 2171, whereas the total number known to exist in the city is from 4000 to 4500. That is, there are probably more non-registered prostitutes than registered. A very large but unknown number of these are under eighteen years of age. There are also many who live in private houses and are not registered. The testimony of residents in Pera indicates that the moral life of that region is frightfully low. As far as investigation and statistics have shown, conditions in Stamboul are far better, although it is extremely difficult if not impossible to get all the facts regarding Moslem quarters or Turkish homes.

4. Shishli Hospital for Venereal Diseases[1]

A visit was paid in mid-January by two investigators to the Shishli Hospital for women. This building was formerly a Bulgarian boys' school, and was given for the purpose after the Armistice by the British authorities. This hospital is the first of its kind in Constantinople, dealing as it does with venereal diseases. Before the war there were forty beds in Haseki Hospital for cases of this kind. Enver Pasha opened a hospital for venereal diseases during the second year of the war; but when the English arrived, the hospital was transferred to the Bulgarian School.

The hospital is a large, two-storied affair, built entirely of wood, and stands apart from other buildings in the neighborhood, the nearest being the Bulgarian School. The interior consists of four large wards of 60 beds each, which are occupied by only gonorrhea patients, and a number of smaller wards used by both syphilis and gonorrhea patients.

In all there are 300 beds. On the day of our visit there were 223 patients who came from the public houses and from the streets. Each day there came into the hospital from fifteen to twenty patients and the like number are discharged. The cases remain from fourteen days to four months. This does not mean an entire cure in the case of syphilis, but only the cure of outside symptoms. A girl upon leaving the hospital is required to appear once a week before the Turkish Sanitary Inspection Bureau, where she is examined and receives treatment, in one of the six treatment places mentioned before.

The hospital has three examination rooms. In one four girls can be treated at once; in another, three; while the third room is reserved for the chief doctor to examine girls prior to their discharge from the hospital. The staff consists of a Chief Doctor, four doctors, seventeen nurses, two clerks.

The hospital is sadly lacking in equipment. In many cases there are no springs to the beds, simply wooden boards beneath excuses for mattresses. The sheeting is very old and dirty, and the blankets inadequate. There are no stoves in the wards, and the whole aspect is cheerless and comfortless. The girls stroll around in their everyday costumes, there being no special hospital garments. There are no books, and no kind of amusement is provided.

The dining-room is another revelation of misery. There are very few plates, cups, knives, or forks for the patients. Some of the girls eat from cups made from tin cans and drink from bottles.

The hospital fare is:

Breakfast.....None
Dinner.....1/4 lb. bread, dried vegatables, small piece of meat
Supper.....1/4 lb. bread, dried vegetables, small piece of meat

[1] Burned to the ground since this was written.

There is no tea or coffee.

In addition to this unappetizing fare, the smell of the toilets permeates the air of the kitchen and the dining room.

It is not surprising that when girls are sent here by the Sanitary Bureau, they weep and rebel.

The medical staff are in no way to blame for the poor condition of the hospital, as they also are victims of poor support. The doctors themselves receive salary only once every three months, and in order to exist, they work at private practice outside of hospital hours.

A great piece of service could be done for the city, for these poor unfortunate girls, and for humanity by helping materially and financially in this particular work.

There follows a chart furnished by the Chief Doctor of the hospital, which gives a good idea of the work they have done.

Attention is called to the fact revealed by the following chart, that the number of Moslems entering the hospital is 56 or 57 per cent of the whole, whereas the number of Moslem inmates in the licensed houses is indicated as comparatively very small. It has been impossible to trace the location of these Moslem girls, owing to the jealousy with which they are surrounded and safeguarded from non Moslem eyes.

PATIENTS ENTERED AND DISCHARGED FROM THE SHISHLI HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN, IN FOUR YEARS

Entered

	Christians			Mussulmans			
	Gon.	Sy.	Ch.	Gon.	Sy.	Ch.	Total
1917	543	553	...	674	742	...	2512
1918	477	689	...	681	994	...	2841
1919	712	618	167	1092	534	255	3378
1920	849	485	13	1259	507	19	3132
4 yrs	2581	2345	180	3706	2777	274	11.863

Discharged

	Christians			Mussulmans			
	Gon.	Sy.	Ch.	Gon.	Sy.	Ch.	Total
1917	494	497	...	637	692	...	2320
1918	463	606	...	629	846	...	2544
1919	749	611	132	1203	481	211	3387
1920	719	528	13	1217	318	29	2824
4 yrs	2425	2242	145	3686	2537	240	11.275

Gon: Gonorrhea
Sy : Syphillis
Ch : Chancre

LOCATION AND INMATES OF PUBLIC HOUSES

	Zourefa	Beyzade	Sherbet-hane	Kara Oghlen	Badem	Sheftali	Oghlak	Bulbul	Abanos	Kutchuk Yazidji	Kilid	Lale	Futchuji	Karna-voula	Zibah	Kütchüh Zibah	Pasha Bakal	Ananik	Scutari	Kadikeuy & Moda	Totals
Houses	17	15	17	7	5	12	2	2	30	14	6	6	2	1	15	5	2	1	10	6	175
Greeks	10	5	4	2	4	1	1	1	20	7	4	3	2	1	8	4	1	..	..	1	79
Jews	5	8	13	3	1	11	..	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45
Armenians	2	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	8	7	2	2	..	..	7	1	1	..	..	..	35
Turks	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	4	12
Negroes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
Egyptians	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Magyars	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Inmates	90	51	97	39	32	57	8	7	111	38	24	32	6	3	43	17	7	2	43	21	728
Greeks	63	30	34	12	22	12	8	6	78	27	17	16	6	3	34	11	6	1	..	..	386
Jews	14	13	33	12	9	29	..	1	4	2	1	5	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	125
Armenians	9	2	8	5	1	4	..	..	26	9	5	9	..	..	9	2	1	1	..	..	91
Turks	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43	21	64
Russians	2	5	17	9	..	9	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43
Germans	..	..	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Italians	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	4
Roumanians	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Bulgarians	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3
French	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Poles	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

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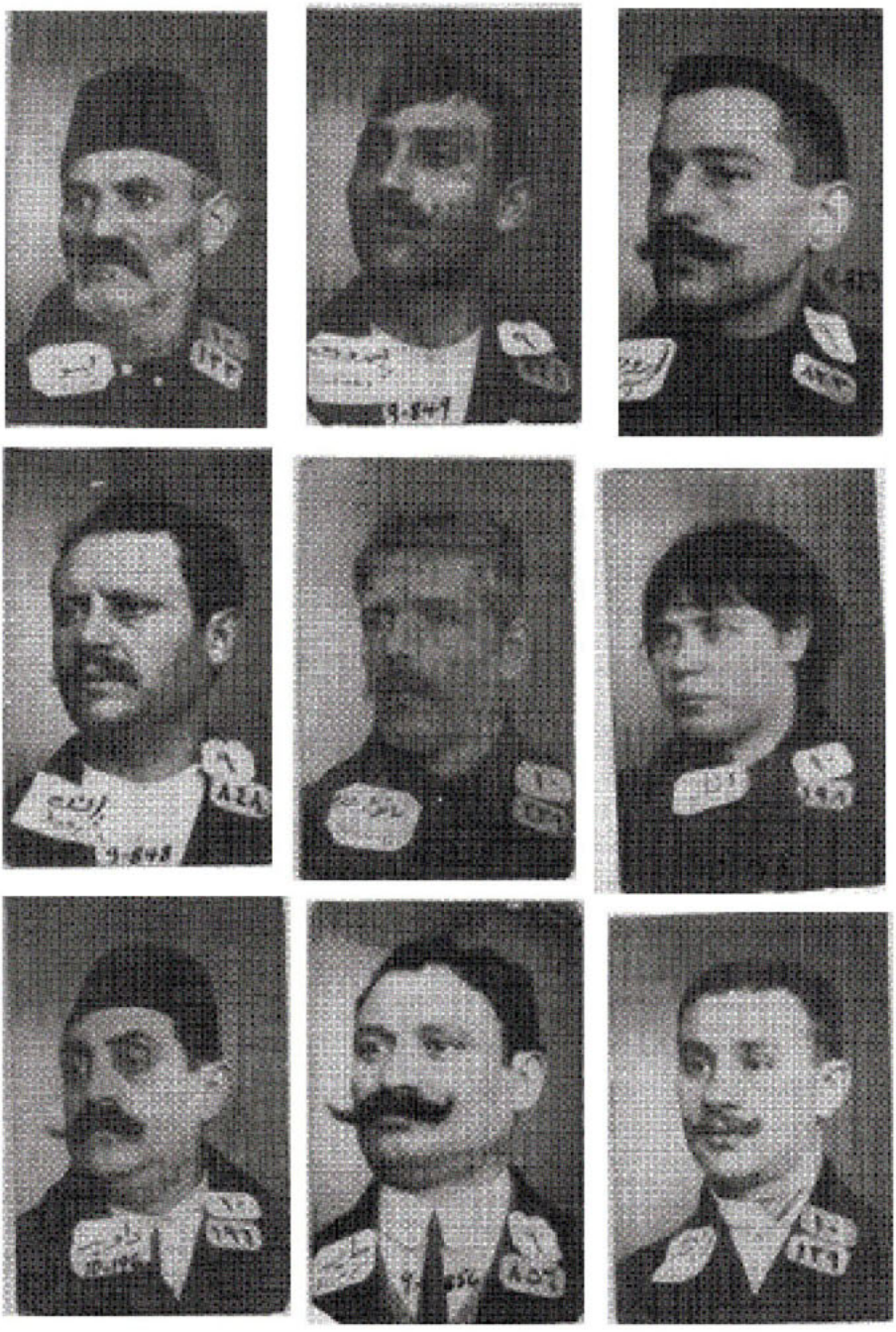
ILLUSTRATIONS

PHOTOS OF THE REPORTED WHITE SLAVE TRADERS

The numbers marked at the bottom of each photo is the reference number indicated in pp. 58-62.

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